

THE INDIAN JOURNAL OF SOCIAL WORK

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Religion and	Almirah No:	<i>krishnan</i>	1
Industrial La	Shelf No:	<i>G. Joshi</i>	7
A National M	Bundle No:	<i>fukerjee</i>	25
Labour	No: of Books	<i>laswamy</i>	36
Treatment an		<i>narappa</i>	44
India			
The Teen-Agi			
Communal Discor		<i>Angilvel V. Matthew</i>	57
Diagnosis			72
Notes and Comments			90
Book Reviews			



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INDEX TO VOLUME IV

SUBJECTS	PAGE
Adult Education	285
Adult Education, A Plan for a National Institute of. B. H. Mehta	364
Alumni Association	187
Alumni Chronicle	186
Alumni Chronicle	381
Alumni News	299
Bedwetting—Its Causes and Treatment. M. C. Marfatia	301
Beggars—A Menace to Public Health. B. C. Das Gupta	29
Beggars, Professional Organization Among. Amar Chand Bhatia	97
Beggars, Mental Traits of. N. N. Sen Gupta	14
Beggars, Types of. Katayun H. Cama	1
Beggar Problem with Special Reference to the City of Bombay, a Scheme for the Gradual Tackling of the. J. F. Bulsara	61
Beggar Relief in India, A Historical Survey of. M. Vasudeva Moorthy.	38
Beggary, Causes of. Radhakamal Mukerjee	23
Beggary, Legislation Relating to. John Barnabas	108
Blind, Education of the	288
Bombay Labour Commissioner's Office at Work. Y. D. Mahajan	275
Children, A Study of Behaviour Disorders of. C. K. Vasudeva Rao	210
Communal Disharmony, An Approach to the Problem of. M. R. A. Baig	256
Education, World Agency for	287
Industrial Efficiency Through Scientific Welfare. O. Mohanasundaram	197
Infant Mortality and Its Control. B. M. Dubash	219
Juvenile Court, History and Development of the. J. P. Gupta	314
Labour Officers, Training of	297
Labour Research in Indian Universities	297
Leprosy, The Truth About. T. N. Jagadisan	331
Orthodox Hindu Family System, Behaviour Disorders and the Break- down of the. William Stephens Taylor	163
Our Neighbourhood Activities	380
Santals (The) in a Changing Civilization. Charulal Mukherjee	171

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A QUARTERLY DEVOTED TO THE PROMOTION OF PROFESSIONAL
SOCIAL WORK, SCIENTIFIC INTERPRETATION OF SOCIAL
PROBLEMS AND ADVANCEMENT OF SOCIAL RESEARCH

Edited by

THE FACULTY OF THE TATA INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES,
BOMBAY, INDIA

EDITORIAL BOARD

J. M. KUMARAPPA

Editor

BEHRAM MEHTA

M. V. MOORTHY

K. R. MASANI

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VOLUME IV

1943-1944

INDEX TO VOLUME IV

SUBJECTS	PAGE
Adult Education	265
Adult Education, A Plan for a National Institute of. B. H. Mehta .	364
Alumni Association	187
Alumni Chronicle	186
Alumni Chronicle	381
Alumni News	299
Bedwetting—Its Causes and Treatment. M. C. Marfatia	301
Beggars—A Menace to Public Health. B. C. Das Gupta	29
Beggars, Professional Organization Among. Amar Chand Bhatia .	97
Beggars, Mental Traits of. N. N. Sen Gupta	14
Beggars, Types of. Katayun H. Cama	1
Beggar Problem with Special Reference to the City of Bombay, a Scheme for the Gradual Tackling of the. J. F. Bulsara	61
Beggar Relief in India, A Historical Survey of. M. Vasudeva Moorthy.	38
Beggary, Causes of. Radhakamal Mukerjee	23
Beggary, Legislation Relating to. John Barnabas	108
Blind, Education of the	288
Bombay Labour Commissioner's Office at Work. Y. D. Mahajan .	275
Children, A Study of Behaviour Disorders of. C. K. Vasudeva Rao .	210
Communal Disharmony, An Approach to the Problem of. M. R. A. Baig	256
Education, World Agency for	287
Industrial Efficiency Through Scientific Welfare. O. Mohanasundaram	197
Infant Mortality and Its Control. B. M. Dubash	219
Juvenile Court, History and Development of the. J. P. Gupta . .	314
Labour Officers, Training of	297
Labour Research in Indian Universities	297
Leprosy, The Truth About. T. N. Jagadisan	331
Orthodox Hindu Family System, Behaviour Disorders and the Break- down of the. William Stephens Taylor	163
Our Neighbourhood Activities	380
Santals (The) in a Changing Civilization. Charulal Mukherjea . .	171

INDEX TO VOLUME IV

	Page
Scientific Philanthropy, The Citizen and. B. H. Mehta	52
Social Sciences, The Indian Academy of : A Plea. Kewal Motwani	350
Social Security in the United States	292
Social Security to Prevent Pauperism, A Plea for. J. M. Kumarappa	137
Students' Union	378
Tata School News	182
Tata School News	377
War-Disabled, Rehabilitation of the Indian. M. Vasudeva Moorthy	241
Women and the Beveridge Plan. Rhona Ghate	341

AUTHORS

BAIG, M. B. A. An Approach to the Problem of Communal Disharmony	256
BARNABAS, JOHN. Legislation Relating to Beggary	108
BHATIA, AMAR CHAND. Professional Organization Among Beggars	97
BULSARA, J. F. A Scheme for the Gradual Tackling of the Beggar Problem with Special Reference to the City of Bombay	61
CAMA, KATAYUN H. Types of Beggars	1
DUBASH, B. M. Infant Mortality and Its Control	219
GHATE, RHONA. Women and the Beveridge Plan	341
GUPTA, B. C. DAS. <i>Beggars—A Menace to Public Health</i>	29
GUPTA, J. P. History and Development of the Juvenile Court	314
GUPTA, N. N. SEN. Mental Traits of Beggars	14
JAGADISAN, T. N. The Truth about Leprosy	331
KUMARAPPA, J. M. A Plea for Social Security to Prevent Pauperism	137
MAHAJAN, Y. D. Bombay Labour Commissioner's Office at Work	275
MARFATIA, J. C. Bedwetting—Its Causes and Treatment	301
MEHTA, B. H. The Citizen and Scientific Philanthropy	52
MEHTA, B. H. A Plan for a National Institute of Adult Education	384
MOHANASUNDARAM, O. Industrial Efficiency through Scientific Welfare	197
MOORTHY, M. VASUDEVA. A Historical Survey of Beggar Relief in India	38
MOORTHY, M. VASUDEVA. Rehabilitation of the Indian War-Disabled	241
MOTWANI, KEWAL. The Indian Academy of Social Sciences: A Plea	350
MUKERJEE, RADHAKAMAL. Causes of Beggary	23
MUKHERJEE, CHARULAL. The Santals in a Changing Civilization	171
RAO, C. K. VASUDEVA. A Study of Behaviour Disorders of Children	210
TAYLOR, WILLIAM STEPHENS. Behaviour Disorders and the Breakdown of the Orthodox Hindu Family System	163

INDEX TO VOLUME IV

PAGE

BOOK REVIEWS

A GROUP OF WELL-KNOWN INDUSTRIALISTS. A Plan of Economic Development for India. <i>M. V. Moorthy</i>	388
ARONSON, A. Rabindranath through Western Eyes. <i>M. V. Moorthy</i> .	195
BARTLETT, HERRIETT M. Some Aspects of Social Case Work in a Medical Setting. <i>K. B. Masani</i>	188
BRADLEY, CHARLES. Schizophrenia in Childhood. <i>K. O. Mookerjee</i> .	189
DEARBORN, W. F. & ROTHNEY, W. M. Predicting the Child's Development. <i>K. O. Mookerjee</i>	191
ELWIN, VERRIER. Maria Murder and Suicide. <i>O. von Furer-Haimendorf</i>	383
GLOVER, EDWARD (Ed.). An Investigation of the Technique of Psycho-Analysis. <i>K. O. Mookerjee</i>	386
GUPTA, N. N. SEN. Mental Growth and Decay. <i>K. O. Mookerjee</i> .	190
JAIN, P. C. (Ed.). Industrial Problems of India. <i>M. V. Moorthy</i> .	192
KENI, V. P. The Problem of Sickness Insurance. <i>M. V. Moorthy</i> .	194
PHILLIPSON, HERBERT. Education: A Search for New Principles <i>M. V. Moorthy</i>	390
ROGERS, CARL R. The Clinical Treatment of the Problem Child. <i>K. O. Mookerjee</i>	387

CONTENTS FOR VOLUME IV

NUMBER 1—JUNE

TYPES OF BEGGARS	<i>K. H. Cama</i>	1
MENTAL TRAITS OF BEGGARS	<i>N. N. Sen Gupta</i>	14
CAUSES OF BEGGARY	<i>Radhakamal Mukerjee</i>	23
BEGGARS—A MENACE TO PUBLIC HEALTH	<i>B. C. Das Gupta</i>	29
A HISTORICAL SURVEY OF BEGGAR RELIEF IN INDIA	<i>M. Vasudeva Moorthy</i>	38
THE CITIZEN AND SCIENTIFIC PHILANTHROPY	<i>B. H. Mehta</i>	52
A SCHEME FOR THE GRADUAL TACKLING OF THE BEGGAR PROBLEM WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE CITY OF BOMBAY	<i>J. F. Bulsara</i>	61

NUMBER 2—SEPTEMBER

PROFESSIONAL ORGANISATION AMONG BEGGARS	<i>Amar Chand Bhatia</i>	97
LEGISLATION RELATING TO BEGGARY	<i>John Barnabas</i>	108
A PLEA FOR SOCIAL SECURITY TO PREVENT PAUPERISM	<i>J. M. Kumarappa</i>	137
BEHAVIOUR DISORDERS AND THE BREAKDOWN OF THE ORTHODOX HINDU FAMILY SYSTEM	<i>William Stephens Taylor</i>	163
THE SANTALS IN A CHANGING CIVILIZATION	<i>Charulal Mukherjee</i>	171
TATA SCHOOL NEWS		182
ALUMNI CHRONICLE		186
BOOK REVIEWS :		
Herriett M. Bartlett. <i>Some Aspects of Social Case Work in a Medical Setting</i>	<i>K. B. MASANI</i>	188
Charles Bradley. <i>Schizophrenia in Childhood</i>	<i>K. C. MOOKERJEE</i>	189
N. N. Sen Gupta. <i>Mental Growth and Decay</i>	<i>K. C. MOOKERJEE</i>	190
W. F. Dearborn & W. M. Rothney. <i>Predicting the Child's Deve- lopment</i>	<i>K. C. MOOKERJEE</i>	191
P. C. Jain. <i>Industrial Problems of India</i>	<i>M. V. MOORTHY</i>	192
V. P. Keni. <i>The Problem of Sickness Insurance</i>	<i>M. V. MOORTHY</i>	194
A. Aronson. <i>Rabindranath Through Western Eyes</i>	<i>M. V. MOORTHY</i>	195

CONTENTS TO VOLUME IV

PAGE

NUMBER 3—DECEMBER

INDUSTRIAL EFFICIENCY THROUGH SCIENTIFIC WELFARE

	<i>O. Mohanasundaram</i>	197
A STUDY OF BEHAVIOUR DISORDERS OF CHILDREN	<i>C. K. Vasudeva Rao</i>	210
INFANT MORTALITY AND ITS CONTROL	<i>B. M. Dubash</i>	219
REHABILITATION OF THE INDIAN WAR-DISABLED	<i>M. Vasudeva Moorthy</i>	241
AN APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM OF COMMUNAL DISHARMONY	<i>M. B. A. Baig</i>	256
BOMBAY LABOUR COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE AT WORK	<i>Y. D. Mahajan</i>	275
NOTES AND COMMENTS :		

Adult Education, 285.—World Agency for Education, 287.—
Education of the Blind, 288.—Social Security in the United States,
292.—Labour Research in Indian Universities, 297.—Training of
Labour Officers, 297.—Alumni News, 299.

NUMBER 4—MARCH

BEDWETTING—ITS CAUSES AND TREATMENT	<i>J. O. Marfatia</i>	301
HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE JUVENILE COURT	<i>J. P. Gupta</i>	314
THE TRUTH ABOUT LEPROSY	<i>T. N. Jagadisan</i>	331
WOMEN AND THE BEVERIDGE PLAN	<i>Rhona Ghate</i>	341
THE INDIAN ACADEMY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES : A PLEA	<i>Kewal Motwani</i>	350
A PLAN FOR A NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ADULT EDUCATION	<i>B. H. Mehta</i>	364
NOTES AND COMMENTS :		

Tata School News, 377.—Students' Union, 378.—Our Neighbour-
hood Activities, 380.—Alumni Chronicle, 381.

BOOK REVIEWS :

Verrier Elwin. <i>Maria Murder and Suicide</i>	<i>C. VON FURER-HAIMENDORF</i>	383
Edward Glover. <i>An Investigation of the Technique of Psycho-analysis</i>	<i>K. C. MOOKERJEE</i>	386
Carl B. Rogers. <i>The Clinical Treatment of the Problem Child</i>	<i>K. C. MOOKERJEE</i>	387
<i>A Plan of Economic Development for India</i>	<i>M. V. MOORTHY</i>	388
Herbert Phillipson. <i>Education : A Search for New Principles</i>	<i>M. V. MOORTHY</i>	390



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THE INDIAN JOURNAL OF SOCIAL WORK

Volume V

CONTENTS FOR JUNE 1944

Number 1

RELIGION AND SOCIAL SERVICE	S. RADHAKRISHNAN	1
INDUSTRIAL LABOUR UNDER WAR CONDITIONS	L. G. JOSHI	7
A NATIONAL MINIMUM WELFARE STANDARD FOR INDIAN LABOUR	RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE	25
TREATMENT AND PREVENTION OF MENTAL DISORDER IN INDIA	M. V. GOVINDASWAMY	36
THE TEEN-AGE—ITS TRAITS AND TRAINING.	LALITA KUMARAPPA	44
COMMUNAL DISCORD IN INDIA—A PSYCHOLOGICAL DIAGNOSIS	ANJILVEL V. MATTHEW	57
NOTES AND COMMENTS		

The Fourth Convocation, 72.—Tata Institute News, 76.—Alumni Chronicle, 81.—Adult Education in Hyderabad State, 82.—School goes to the Handicapped Child, 83.—Vagrants Home, Calcutta, 85.

BOOK REVIEWS

G. S. Ghurye, Ph., D., <i>The Aborigines—So-called—and their Future.</i>	C. VON FURER-HAIMENDORF	91
M. R. Masani, <i>Socialism Reconsidered</i>	M. V. MOORTHY	95



Looking Ahead

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RELIGION AND SOCIAL SERVICE

S. RADHAKRISHNAN

In this Fourth Convocation address of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Sir S. Radhakrishnan maintains that the scientific view of man requires to be supplemented by the religious which regards a human being as a ray of the divine. After dealing with the problems of poverty and social injustice, he makes a vigorous plea for individual responsibility and freedom.

Sir Radhakrishnan is Vice-Chancellor of the Benares Hindu University.

WHAT is social work? In a sense all departments of State, medicine, law, engineering, education, health are public service institutions.

All activities which are more than egoistic are social; even activities which are apparently egoistic have social effects. The solitary hermit who saves himself by his effort, saves the world by his example. We may define service as any action which helps others at a cost to oneself. The cost may be in time and thought or money. If we spend any of them on the needs of others, we do service. To visit the lonely, to comfort the needy, to listen patiently to other people's worries, to undertake voluntarily uninteresting jobs is to do service. We do it with pleasure, if we care for and love humanity. Love expresses itself in service. The greatest servants of humanity are those who love and suffer for it, Buddha, Jesus, St. Francis, Gandhi. To love is to suffer. The more we love, the more we suffer. Infinite love is infinite suffering. So even God is represented as a sufferer. Siva is Nilakantha; Christ has a crown of thorns. We pray to God, as the great helper of humanity, to give food to the hungry and drink to the thirsty, to comfort the mournful, cheer the dismayed, strengthen the weak, deliver the oppressed, and give hope and courage to them that are out of heart.

As such a conception of God sometimes encouraged men to throw the burden on God and themselves withdraw from the scene of mankind's social agony, religion came to be regarded as a sort of escapism, and flight from society. Religion, it is said, seeks for supernatural guidance in the solution of social problems even as the worried seek the aid of astrologers, the troubled and the forlorn seek the guidance of God. The old sea-captain said to a frightened passenger in a storm, "So long as the sailors are swearing, Ma'am, we are all right; if you hear them praying, put on your life belt." When we do not see any way out, we get afraid and turn religious. We are afraid in two ways. We are frustrated by nature and by society. The ultimate frustration of all is death; and the social frustration is due to poverty and

social injustice. Marx put it: "The omnipotence of God is nothing but the fantastic reflection of the impotence of people before nature and before the economic social relations created by themselves." The remedy for frustration by nature lies in the extension of our control over nature by science. The remedy for the frustration by economic injustice lies in social revolution.

There are certain elements of truth in Marx's analysis, though he exaggerates them. Religion, it is true, is resorted to by those who refuse to face the problems; it has been used to distract men's attention from science, and the rich have used it to keep the poor contented, and yet this is not the real meaning of religion. If we ask why the phenomenon of religion arises, we will find that it is due to the rise of intellectuality at the human level. There is a break in the normal and natural order of things due to the emergence of self-conscious reason. The rest of nature goes on in absolute tranquillity but man becomes aware of the inevitability of death. The knowledge of death produces the fear of death. Who shall save me from the body of this death? Buddha's religious sense was stirred by the sight of an old man, a diseased man, a dead man and a mendicant. Why should there be death and disease? Can this feeling of frustration be remedied by science? Grant that we can anticipate the course of nature and to some extent control it. Can nature be tamed to do man's bidding? Her blind caprices, her storms and tempests, her cyclones and earthquakes will continue to shatter his work and dash his dreams. Can science alter the limits of man's life and his body? "Thou fool, this night shall thy soul be required of thee." The *Bhagavadgita* says that all created beings have an unknown beginning, a known middle and an unknown end. (II 28). The dark spaces are there and except for those who refuse to think, the mark of ignorance remains. Inward security cannot be achieved through science and technology. The frustration by nature is something common to all, rich and poor. If religion is a device to soothe the sorrows of the human heart, if it is a drug to soften the tragic sense of human life, so long as science cannot answer the question, if a man die, shall he live again, so long as the fear of death is a common anxiety, religion has a place in human life.

Marx refers to social injustice. Man's innocence, his sense of fellow feeling, his at-oneness with the universe are disturbed by the development of self-consciousness and self-will. He puts his individual preferences above social welfare. He looks upon himself as something lonely, final and absolute and treats every other man as his potential enemy. He becomes an acquisitive soul adopting a defensive attitude towards society. He fears every footstep he hears and trembles at every unexpected knock at the door. Though he is by nature social, he often prefers his individual advantage to the in-

terests of the social order. The moral evils of falsity, pride and treachery arise. Animals do not wage wars as men do. The fear of physical evil, death, moral evil selfishness breaks up his unity, distracts his mind and clouds his vision. How can this disintegration of man's self, this conflict with nature and society be overcome? How can this fall from harmony be restored to unity? How can we get fearlessness or *abhaya*, who can tell us '*ma sucah*', be not afraid? How can we rise from a disrupted consciousness to a harmonised one, from division and conflict into freedom and love? How can we build a world of freedom and love and be released from the present world of fear and hate?

Marx tells us that the improvement of social conditions is essential, that there is much need for that in our country, goes without saying. Sir William Beveridge said the other day that Great Britain had to fight the five giants of want, disease, ignorance, squalor and idleness. If with its high standard of living, extensive medical relief, wide-spread education, Great Britain has to tackle these problems, the case for a drive against want, ignorance, disease, poverty and squalor is very much stronger in this country. There are millions who have never slept on a bed or taken a cooked meal, millions who accept dirt and vermin as their natural environment. Our social institutions must be so altered as to give each human being a chance for full self-expression and all the hindrances to human development due to ignorance and bad surroundings require to be removed. Any government which realises its elementary responsibilities to the governed will have to tackle this task of improvement of public health and sanitation, development of education and rapid application of science to agriculture and industry more seriously than heretofore and even governments can be shamed into activity by private enterprise. India is no more in that mood of fatalistic resignation which accepts poverty, squalor and unemployment as unavoidable. Tagore paid special attention to rural development and Gandhi has insisted on it. In the villages where the large majority of our people live there are not adequate facilities for the education of children, for the fostering of village industries, for medical relief and cultural growth. We must rouse the minds of the villagers, if we are to vitalise village life.

Even if we bring about widespread education, improve methods of agriculture, apply modern, industrial technique to the problems of production and distribution, and raise the standard of life, the need for social work and service will not diminish. All the outward conditions of may be present and yet decent and dignified human life may not be possible. A planned life, in which our employment is compulsorily provided for us, in which we are deprived of our responsibility not only for our own lives but also for the care and welfare

of families, which involves the maximum of social security, is no compensation for the loss of individual responsibility and freedom. Field Marshall Smuts says, "Liberty in its full human sense—freedom of thought, speech, action, self-expression—there is less to-day than at any time in the past two thousand years". For a civilized existence, both security and freedom are essential. Every human being should be guaranteed sufficient food and clothing and adequate housing but we should recognise that the needs of men are not merely material. If we do not have an atmosphere of freedom, we become professionals, lawyers or doctors, engineers or teachers but not human beings. We lead unnatural lives, which are empty and burdensome. If we scorn the spirit, acts will have no joy and life no serenity. This war is a symptom of the inward disease from which we are suffering. Its springs are in the invisible world. Why are there slums in Bombay? Why was there a famine in Bengal? Why are there Hindu-Muslim conflicts? Why have the Leagues of Nations, the Disarmament Conferences, and other world movements failed? Why do nations which can live in peace and adjust their differences by negotiations resort to wars with all their sorrow, desolation and misery? Imagine the amount of suffering which wars produce. Leave aside the dead but look at the maimed, the bereaved, the exiled, the anxious and the ruined, the millions who are bewildered, broken, bereft of faith and hope. The foundations of social life crumble, the standards of behaviour break down and barbarism is let loose.

For all this widespread misery, it is no use condemning any individuals or group of individuals? If an idiot commits a murder we are shocked by his act but we do not hate him because we feel that there is a human being from whom fate has taken away the birthright of discrimination and judgment. Those responsible for this greatest of all evils, the world war, are not a few individuals or groups but a general way of life. Our enemies are as much the products of their environment even as we are. Take the Germans who are fighting against us in this war. They grew up in an atmosphere of violence. They were taught at home and school that duty and honour meant vengeance on Germany's enemies and when they came of age, they found that Hitler was in power and the doctrine of vengeance was consecrated as the state religion. With so many years of teaching behind them, if they grow mad, can we hold them responsible? They are our neighbours and need our help.

We are to-day filled with the hope of final victory but are uncertain and anxious about the peace settlement. The last war was won and the militarists whose existence was threatened by talks of disarmament and diplomats who felt that their occupation would be gone if the League of Nations succeeded, kept the fires of hate burning. This peace will end in frustration

if we hide from ourselves our real faults by a smokescreen of righteousness, unless we instruct ourselves in the processes which lead to wars and attempt to remove them, military and political measures by themselves, will not achieve much. Temporary expedients may result in intervals of peace, but cannot achieve permanent security. The old institutions which have brought death and despair to successive generations are dead at the roots. We want a new world where freedom does not mean freedom to exploit fellowmen and culture does not mean intellectual dope. The root causes of universal failure, greed and selfishness individual and collective require to be removed. This can be done only by a revolutionary change of outlook and will, a rebirth of spiritual life. We must cultivate the qualities that separate man from the beast, love of truth, pursuit of goodness, sensitiveness to beauty, compassion, and tolerance, and not those which we share with the animals, lust, cruelty and greed. Galsworthy writes, "Men may have a mint of sterling qualities, be vigorous, adventurous, brave, upright and self-sacrificing ; be preachers and teachers ; keen, cool-headed, just, industrious—if they have not the love of beauty, they will be still making wars." Here Galsworthy is asking us not to be content with a close scientific rationalism. Science has given a distinctive caste and colour to the modern consciousness. Its gains are incalculable. It has added to the scope and stature of human mind. Its increasing application to agriculture and industry will raise the level of human welfare, but science is not all.

The scientific approach is not the only approach to reality ; nor is it the most important. A human being is not a differential equation. So long as we study human being psychologically or sociologically, we deal with them in fractions and not as wholes. The fundamental reality of life is in the interplay, conflict and continuous adjustment of a multitude of different finite points of view. Each point of view requires to be treated with respect. "The materialist," says Eddington, "must presumably hold the belief that his wife is a rather elaborate differential equation, but he is probably tactful enough not to obtrude this opinion in domestic life". The scientific view of man requires to be supplemented by the religious which regards a human being as a spark of spirit, a ray of the divine. We must develop faith in man as subject rather than as object, a source of creation and inspiration and not a passive product of social surroundings. Man is made in the image of God. He is a creator. Human nature must be lifted out of its immediate urgencies and local needs and taken up to the high places of life from which it can see and understand the meaning of life. Until this faith is followed by works, we will not have true democracy. Walt Whitman said, "Democracy is a great word, whose history, I suppose, remains unwritten, because that history has yet to be enacted." While science will add to the richness of life, social improve-

ment will make creative life possible. Even then most women and many men will remain lonely, damped and worried. Many will still be without zest for life and without freshness in vision. They will require not curiosity but understanding, not sermons but sympathy, a lively perception and a sharing of each other's sorrows, a bearing of one another's burdens.

INDUSTRIAL LABOUR UNDER WAR CONDITIONS

L. G. JOSHI

Labour being the most vital part of the National War Front, in this article the writer reviews carefully its wartime problems and progress; he makes useful suggestions with regard to post-war planning for labour since labour will continue even after the war to be the main switch of all our economic activities.

Mr. Joshi is doing research on labour problems.

MR. Geoffrey Crowther who is famous for his "Oxford Pamphlets on World Affairs" says, "the present war will be won not on the playing fields of Eton or Harrow but in the mines and factories of a thousand grimy industrial towns." Thus the war being mainly an industrial proposition, labour, along with other factors of production, is the first thing that commands our attention. Strong, active, well-trained and contented labour force is the *sine-qua-non* for an indefatigable industrial progress of a nation. Labour has, therefore, a very fateful part to play in the National War Front.

The last War found Indian labour inarticulate, spasmodic and unorganised. But since then, owing to generous labour legislation under the influence of the International Labour Organization, it has progressed apace. On the eve of the present War, however, the main industries, especially the textiles were beginning to feel the effects of an onrushing slump. Nightshifts were closing down and nationwide attempts were made to work short-time by the Millowners' Association of Bombay and Ahmedabad. The outbreak of the War, however, changed the whole situation. There was a big worldwide demand for jute textiles in consequence of the universal use of sandbags for the protection of buildings against bombardment and the manufacture of tents and other auxiliaries. Cotton textiles and yarn began to find greedy markets outside the country. Naturally nightshifts were resumed. Engineering and allied trades whose prosperity is closely bound up with that of the textile industry also began to look up. Huge orders by the Supply Department of the Home Government also had tonic effect on many other industries.

Japan started sabre rattling towards the end of 1940 and in the year 1941, and it became evident that India would have to build up an army of more than a million men of her own. This army had to be clothed, fed and supplied with all the modern equipment of war. Huge orders were placed with mills and factories. A number of workshops were commandeered for the manufacture of shells and ammunitions; shipbuilding yards and mammoth plants for assembling motor vehicles and aeroplanes were established. All

these factors led to the record-breaking demand for labour.

Labour being the most vital part of the National War Front, its war-time problems have to be very carefully studied and appreciated. What happens is this: Huge demands are made on industries which they cannot ordinarily meet. Fancy prices have to be paid for the necessary prerequisites of production. Labour control has to be resorted to by Government order to increase the total labour supply depleted by the mobilization of armed forces and to transfer workers from non-essential to essential occupations such as munitions production which is constantly on the increase as the war progresses.

The task of labour control is not merely quantitative, it is also qualitative. Modern munitions production requires a great deal of skill and experience of different kinds. War industries generally demand a very high proportion of skilled labour. The problem of labour during the war, in a nutshell, is to make the largest number of workers work for the needs of the war; to select the right man for the right job so as to get the utmost out of everyone; to check all impediments to production by outlawing strikes and lockouts and lastly to keep the labour force willing and well contended in order to ensure maximum efficiency. The more they produce and the shorter the time needed, the greater are the chances of success in a total war. All other considerations pale into comparative insignificance before the paramount necessity of supplying all the requirements of the men on active service.

The control of labour during the war may be considered under the following heads:—(1) Vocational Training. (2) Stretching of the total labour supply; its distribution, dilution and transfer. (3) Maintaining the standard of living of workers. (4) Tripartite Conference between government, labour and industry. (5) Prevention of labour disputes by legislation.

I. VOCATIONAL TRAINING

One way of expanding the supply of skilled labour is by introducing schemes of technical training. In Great Britain, Australia and Canada, the Ministries of Labour are entrusted with the task of training man-power on a colossal scale and placing it at the disposal of the war departments.

There was a complete lack of certain categories of labourers needed in the manufacture of shells and ammunition, and for working in the shipbuilding yards. *The Technical Training Scheme* was therefore instituted by the Government of India about the end of the year 1940. On selection, a trainee is posted to a civil or civil military centre. After a period of two months, trainees in a civil centre as are willing to enrol in the Defence Services are enrolled and transferred to a civil military centre. After passing certain trade tests, he is drafted into one of the Defence Services.

Training is provided for the following trades :—

Blacksmiths	Grinders	Surveyors
Boiler Attendants	Hardeners	Textile Refitters
Carpenters	Instrument Mechanics	(Upholsterers)
Draughtsmen (Mechanical)	Machinists	Tin & Copper-smiths
Die Sinkers	Markers Off	Toolmakers
Electricians	Millers	Turners
Electroplaters	Millwrights	Vulcanists
Engine Drivers (I.C.)	Moulders	Welders (Electric)
Engine Drivers (Steam)	Painters	Welders (Oxyacetylene)
Fitters	Pattern Makers	Wireless Operators

The scheme provides for the intensive training of a large number of skilled tradesmen required for the technical branches of defence services, ordnance and munitions factories and civil industry. The number of persons trained so far is over 8,200. The scheme covers not only special technical institutions which have been expressly opened for this purpose but also a large number of existing factories and workshops. The total number of training centres at the end of April 1943 was 384 with the total training capacity of 47,004. Those who already passed out numbered 43,480 while 41,368 were actually under training.

The centres are scattered all over India and more. The table on p. 10 culled from the *Indian Labour Gazette*, July 1943 gives the distribution of training centres under the Technical Training Scheme. At present the training centres are less by about a hundred owing to the adoption of the policy of closing down uneconomical centres in the interest of consolidation and improvement. Naturally, there is also a slight reduction in their total training capacity.

Bevin Training Scheme.—In November 1940, Mr. Ernest Bevin, the British Minister of Labour presented his scheme in the House of Commons, the object of which was “to accelerate munitions production in India and at the same time to inculcate in the men an appreciation of British methods of industrial cooperation between employers and workers, and the value of sound trade union principles.” According to the scheme, Indian workers are trained in factories and workshops in England. Candidates are chosen from the working classes preferably from among men of the Engineering Trades such as turners, fitters, millers and grinders drawing wages of Rs. 40/- to 60/- per month. Candidates must have had experience of factory work and have given promise of intelligence and adaptability. They should be young but not below 18 years, healthy and intelligent. They should be able to read, write

Name of Province or State	No. of Training Centres	Training Capacity	Name of Province or State	No. of Training Centres	Training Capacity
Ajmer-Merwara ...	2	586	Dewan (Junior) ...	1	420
Assam ...	5	432	Gwalior ...	1	190
Bengal ...	54	6,110	Hyderabad ...	2	849
Bihar ...	26	2,526	Indore ...	4	316
Bombay ...	44	4,232	Jaipur ...	5	835
C. P. & Berar ...	19	1,711	Jamnagar ...	1	22
Coorg ...	2	10	Jodhpur ...	2	281
Delhi ...	7	2,394	Junagadh ...	1	10
Madras ...	89	10,002	Kolhapur ...	2	178
N.W.F.P. ...	2	620	Khairpur Mirs ...	1	128
Orissa ...	6	1,138	Mandi ...	1	96
Punjab ...	27	5,776	Mysore ...	11	897
Sind ...	8	817	Pudukottai ...	2	108
U. P. ...	35	4,144	Rewa ...	1	28
<i>States</i>			Sandur ...	1	240
Baroda ...	3	339	Sangli ...	1	20
Bhavnagar ...	1	130	Travancore ...	5	712
Bikaner ...	2	383	Udaipur ...	1	139
Cochin ...	9	585			
			Total ...	384	47,004

and do simple calculations, and possess manual dexterity along with some knowledge of English.

The selection is made by the National Service Labour Tribunals in consultation with Regional Inspectors of Technical Training and large industrial employers including Railway Administrations. The courses of training cover engineering occupations mainly, for example fitting and machine operating, and last for a period of 6 months which might be extended. For the first 3 months trainees work at a special training centre at Letchworth where they receive elementary training and instruction in English and get time to become acclimatised. They are then placed in groups with selected employers in factories where they receive training side by side with British workmen.

All selected candidates receive handsome travelling allowances, subsistence allowances, food and clothing. Separate allowances are given to married trainees. On their return to India, the services of the trainees are at the disposal of the National Service Labour Tribunals originally concerned with their selection. No guarantee of employment is given. But every trainee who has returned has actually been employed.

So far ten batches have returned. 353 Bevin Boys have returned to

India while more than 200 men are still in England leaving aside those of the eleventh batch which left for United Kingdom recently. These men will also receive training in aircraft production. Seven batches have returned to India. On return, the Bevin boys are trade-tested by a special Board of Examiners appointed by the Government of India, and if found suitable, are posted as supervisors in Ordnance factories or as instructors at the Technical Training Centres on salaries which are about double or more than what they were getting before they left India.

Both the schemes present the best opportunities to Indian youth especially among the middle classes. Technical training has always been pronounced to be the specific remedy for the unemployment caused by the present educational system which is too literary and theoretical in character. Here is the chance for the unemployed youth to join the ranks and receive *not only training free of all costs but also stipends*. Wide travelling and contact with all sorts of men is sure to raise the general level of intelligence and broaden their outlook which will have a salutary effect on their character. Men who would not otherwise have dreamt of sailing for England or travelling in India over long distances are now enabled to do so by this scheme without spending a pie from their own pockets. They can learn such trades as will stand them in good stead in days to come. Indian industry is said to be lagging behind the industries of other nations largely for the lack of technically trained men. This difficulty can now be overcome to a considerable extent. We shall have our own technically trained men and managers who will, with the help of raw materials and local capital, turn the land into a beehive of industry and trade.

II. STRENGTHENING OF THE TOTAL LABOUR SUPPLY

India has not to face the problem of regulating labour by military conscription—a method which other warring nations have had to adopt. India has yet no military conscription and as a result, the question of depletion through the mobilization of armed forces has not risen at all. Besides, India entered the war with a considerable reserve of unemployed labour due to the effects of the slump which had enveloped the principal industries before the outbreak of the war. There was therefore no immediate need for labour rationing. There was no dearth of unskilled labour or semiskilled labour. But there was a complete lack of certain classes of skilled labour most urgently required for work in huge munition workshops, shipbuilding yards and mammoth plants, and Government had as a result to establish extensive training schemes for training men in the skilled trades for these war industries.

In addition to the direct recruitment of labour under the scheme for labour control, the labour supply can be increased by stretching, that is to

say, by lengthening working hours, extending the use of female and adolescent labour, re-employing pensioned and over-aged workers, and employing war prisoners and foreign workers. Most of the belligerent nations have set aside the regulations governing the length of the ordinary working week and overtime. In Great Britain, for instance, the Ministry of Labour and National Service suggested a working week of 55 hours as most conducive to maximum efficiency. Policy, however, has remained flexible and factory inspectors visit each establishment, and regulation of hours is carried on on the merits of each case. In India, exemptions absolving factories from observing the Statutory regulations have been granted by all provincial Governments to many factories. Some factories are having a week of 60 hours. Re-employing of pensioned and over-aged workers is on a small scale. Government also reserves power to distribute and transfer labour among different establishments so as to maximise production. The question of diluting labour, i. e., employing labour of lower grades along with that of higher grades in the same trade, does not assume the same importance in our country as it does in others.

Shortage of labour in mines assumed very serious proportions in the second half of the year 1943. It seemed inevitable to admit women underground. The Labour Member went to Dhanbad in that connection. It was decided to allow women underground only to carry coal in baskets. They are not to be employed as coal-cutters. Low wages and a hard life being the causes of the shortage of labour, it was resolved to raise wages and to arrange for cheap grain shops. It was also decided to levy a special cess on coal production and the amount so collected to be utilised in devising schemes for the welfare of the miners. In order to encourage attendance at the mines, an attendance bonus in addition to wages was also devised.

Mobilisation of Technical Personnel in India.—Turning to the regulation of labour in India, it may be noted that conscription of labour is out of the question. However, with the object of taking power to require industrial undertakings to release technical personnel for employment in factories under the Crown or declared to be engaged on work of national importance, the Governor General promulgated the "The National Service (Technical personnel) Ordinance—28th June 1940. The Ordinance was amended by two further Amending Ordinances issued in September 1940 and June 1942. The term "Technical personnel" includes persons engaged in three groups:— (1) Managerial Staff, (2) Supervisory Staff, (3) Skilled and semi-skilled trades. The first includes managers, aircraft pilots and all kinds of engineers. The second includes foremen, inspectors, chargemen and maistries, and the third group includes all occupations in the engineering, electrical, wood

and chemical trades; photolitho operators, process photographers, lithographers and lithoprinters; rope workers, petrol mechanics and motormen, bricklayers and brick moulders.

All technical personnel over 18 years and under 50 are under heavy penalties of default, liable, when called upon to do so, to undertake employment in National Service. The Central Government has power to declare any factory which is engaged in the production of munitions or other war supplies or in work which is likely to assist the efficient prosecution of the war to be a factory engaged on work of national importance and on the declaration of a factory as such, it becomes a "Notified Factory".

The Ordinance gives powers to the Central Government to constitute National Service Tribunals for such areas and in such places as it thinks fit. Each Tribunal is to consist of a Chairman and not less than two members both of whom must be servants of the Crown. It has the right to co-opt other persons if it thinks fit. Every "Notified Factory" has the right to apply to a Tribunal or to the Central Government for such technical personnel as may be required from time to time. The main function of a Tribunal therefore is to find the necessary personnel. With this object in view, N. S. L. Tribunals have been given power to ascertain particulars of the technical personnel employed in all industrial undertakings, the suitability of such personnel for employment in national service and if any industry is in a position to release them. In order to enable the Tribunals to discharge these functions, they have been given all the powers of Civil Courts for enforcing the attendance of witnesses, production of documents, recording of evidence on oath etc., and also wide powers of inspection and trade tests. They can call upon the "technical personnel" of any undertaking whether in employment in a notified factory or not, to undertake employment in national service, direct such persons to submit themselves to tests of their technical skill, and also lay down terms of service of such persons. Once a Notified Factory applies for technical personnel, it is obligatory for such a concern to take into employment such personnel as may be sent, and on such terms as the Tribunal or the Central Government may direct. Appeals against the decisions of a Tribunal must be made to the Central Government.

No person employed in an industrial establishment coming under the Ordinance can leave his service unless he has previously obtained the permission of the Tribunal, and a corresponding limitation is on the employer also, unless he has given 15 days' notice of such intention to the Tribunal. Whereas the Tribunal can control the engagement of technical personnel by industrial undertakings in such a manner as it thinks fit, the Government of India alone has the power to transfer technical personnel from one notified factory

to another. Similarly, no technical personnel can be discharged unless the head of the establishment concerned has previously obtained written permission of the Central Government. All employers in non-notified factories are compelled to reinstate men who may be returned to their original posts and on the same terms as obtained when their services were first requisitioned but these may be modified and compensation given after appeal to a Tribunal. Penalties of imprisonment for a term which may extend to six months or a fine upto Rs. 1,000/- or both are provided for infringements of the Ordinance.

III. MAINTAINING THE STANDARD OF LIVING OF WORKERS

One of the earliest repercussions of the War was the panic it created in the commodity markets in India. Prices of all foodstuffs and other commodities shot up. Vigorous steps had therefore to be taken (1) to check profiteering by controlling prices and (2) to maintain the real wages of workmen at the pre-war level.

With regard to prices, the Government of India had taken power under subrule (2) of Rule 81 of the Defence of India Rules both to make provision "for controlling prices at which articles or things of any description whatsoever may be sold and to delegate these powers to Provincial Governments as well". Almost all provinces appointed Controllers of Prices and empowered Revenue Officers in districts to act as local controllers. Price Control Committee with advisory powers were set up to help these authorities. The great defect of the system was that each local price controlling authority took independent action without any provincial or central coordination of policy. The attempts at controlling prices have therefore been ineffective.

The maintenance of workers' pre-war standard of life could be achieved in either of the two ways :—(1) Payment of additional allowances to workers in cash so as to enable them to meet the rise in prices. (2) Opening cheap price shops of necessities of life and making the commodities available to workers at pre-war prices keeping the quality of the commodities unimpaired.

Dearness allowances fluctuating with changes in the cost of living index made their appearance in the cotton textile industry at Ahmedabad as a result of the decision of the Industrial Court and in the Central Provinces and Berar in pursuance of the recommendations of the Mahalnobis and Jayaratnam Textile Labour Inquiry Committees. The method of dearness allowances on the basis of a sliding scale linked up with the rise or fall in the cost of living indices has been almost universalised since then. A considerable number of disputes has arisen over the payment of allowances where these had so far not been given and where these had been granted, further disputes had been raised to increase the rates of allowances.

There are also systems of dearness allowances which are not directly linked up with fluctuations in the costs of living which may broadly be grouped under three heads :—

The first group includes those systems where rates of cash allowances are fixed for different wage groups and where the rates fixed are raised from time to time. The most notable example is the system adopted by the Employers' Association of Northern India, according to which the employees of the member mills of the Association are divided into seven wage groups from Rs. 19/- going up by steps to Rs. 150. Dearness allowances range from 6 pies in the rupee to employees getting Rs. 75/- to annas two per rupee to those whose incomes range from Rs. 19/- to 25/- per month.

The second group includes all those who are paid in the form of fixed percentages given at the same uniform level for all employees, such as was adopted by the Indian Jute Mills Association upto August 1942 or varying percentages for different wage groups such as those adopted by Cotton Mills in Delhi. The Indian Jute Mills Association changed from 10% to Rs. 1-4-0 per day per worker, from 1942 August.

The third group would include systems where uniform rates of dearness allowances in cash—either on the basis of so much per month or so much per day of attendance—are given to all employees irrespective of their pay. But in almost all such cases an upper wage limit for the securing of these allowances is fixed. This system is apparent among low-paid Government employees, in ordnance factories, naval dockyards, in local bodies, other quasi-governmental concerns and in the cotton mills belonging to the Bombay Mill Owners' Association. A system of freezing dearness allowances after making generous supplies of foodstuffs and other necessities available to workers was introduced in Bengal in 1942. The Tata Iron & Steel Works at Jamshedpur have also adopted a similar system.

Demand for Participation in War Profits.—The question of granting war bonuses was first taken up by the Government of Bombay who during the General Strike of 1940 in the cotton mills, enquired of the Millowners' Association whether they would give a share in their increased profits caused by the War. As a result of their negotiations, the first grant of 12½% cash bonus was made in January 1942. The cotton mill workers in Ahmedabad also received about the same amount of bonus as was given to their confreres in Bombay.

Since 1942, hundreds of disputes have arisen all over India in connection with demands of workers for payment of war bonuses. Labour Departments of Provincial Governments have been inundated with requests for mediation in the matter. Anticipating trouble many employers gracefully granted bonuses before demands were actually made. Some of the employers

who were at first adamant had to yield before the forceful demands of labour and others had to grant bonuses at the instance of the Government. Almost all concerns have to agree to give about a month's pay or more as bonus.

IV. TRIPARTITE CONFERENCES

Of equal importance too are, to put it in Mr. Prior's words, "full and free contact between Government, employers and labour, steady production and fair conditions of work for all". Sir Pherozekhan Noon while presiding over the third conference of Labour Ministers said, "There was no time in the history of India when a speedy settlement of labour problems was more urgent. If the war production is to go forward unhampered, we must avoid strikes and lockouts at all costs and we must handle all problems of labour and industrial development with sympathy and foresight". He felt that there were many advantages in bringing all the interests concerned—labourers, employers and government—face to face in Tripartite Conferences as had been done at Geneva under the auspices of the League of Nations.

Subsequently, the Plenary Conference was convened including all the parties. For frequent conferences, a Standing Advisory Labour Committee was formed. It also is tripartite in nature. Whereas the Plenary Conference is to meet at least once every year, the standing committee is to meet as often as it might be convened by the Central Government for the consideration of questions that might be before it.

A very large number of welfare measures have been undertaken at a number of places. Opening of canteens, cost-price grain shops, arrangements for air raid protection, appointment of several welfare officers, including the Labour Welfare Adviser to the Government of India, are some of the most important measures meant especially to meet the emergencies arising out of war conditions.

V. INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES LEGISLATION

Having surveyed some of the important measures undertaken by government to keep the largest labour force quite skilled and ready, we must now turn to the no less important measure of legislation. It is the measure of the last resort and the greatest specific in wartime conditions. If work is stopped either by a strike or a lockout, it entails loss of working time and waste of plant capacity, which means lessened output. It is in effect a sort of passive sabotage. Legislation had therefore to be undertaken to put a stop to the whimsical cessation of work.

Wartime industrial disputes legislation in India may be summed up under (1) The Bombay Industrial Disputes (Amendment) Act of 1941, (2) The Essential Services Maintenance Order of 1941, (3) Rule 81 (A) of the Defence

of India Rules of January 1942 amended in May of the same year, (4) *Prevention of Hartals by Rules 56A of the Defence of India Legislation*, (5) Rule 78A of the D. I. R.

(1) *The Bombay Industrial Disputes (Amendment) Act, 1941*.—Under the Act of 1938, industrial disputes could be referred to arbitration only when an employer entered into an agreement with a union registered under this Act to do so. But in centres or industries where there were no registered unions or even when there was a union the parties could not agree to refer a dispute to arbitration, no arbitration was possible. In order to make arbitration compulsory in certain cases, the amendment was introduced in 1941, which enables the Provincial Government to refer any dispute to the arbitration of the Industrial Court if it is satisfied that the continuance of any dispute is likely to cause a serious or prolonged hardship to a large section of the community or seriously affect an industry and the prospect of scope and employment in it, or causes a serious outbreak of disorder or a breach of the public peace. It is applied to all industries in the province of Bombay to which the main Act had been applied.

(2) *Essential Services (Maintenance) Ordinance, 1941*.

(3) *Rule 81A of the Defence of India Act, 1942*.—This measure is meant to make essential factories proof against the disruptions caused by acrimony between the labourers and industrialists. It empowers the Central Government to make provision for (i) prohibiting strikes or lock-outs, (ii) requiring employers to observe such terms and conditions as may be prescribed by Government, (iii) Referring any trade dispute for conciliation or adjudication and lastly enforcing for a certain period, decisions of the authorities to which a trade dispute is referred by adjudication.

By virtue of this rule, the Government of India issued a General Order on the 6th March preventing any person (in any undertaking) from going on strike in connection with any trade dispute, without having given to the employers, within one month before striking, not less than fourteen days notice in writing of his intention to do so. It is penal for any person to go on strike until the expiry of two months after the conclusion of the proceedings upon such reference under the rule.

In May 1942, the Central Government directed that the powers conferred upon it by Rule 81A of the Defence of India Act would also be exercisable by the provincial governments subject to certain qualifications. This amendment has recently been further amended so as to allow government to enforce partially the decision of the adjudicator and to make the terms and conditions of employment binding on employers as well as workers.

As a consequence of the entry of Japan into the war, the danger had

arisen of persons in India abandoning their employment or leaving certain areas. If this fear were to materialise it would be impossible to maintain certain services essential for the public safety, the maintenance of public order, the efficient prosecution of the war or the maintenance of supplies or services necessary for the life of the community. In order to avoid such danger, the Governor General promulgated the Ordinance. According to this ordinance, a worker who disobeys any lawful order given to him in the course of his employment is liable to be punished, and the order not to strike work would be a lawful order. Penalties for infringement are imprisonment upto one year with additional liability to be fined. Both the Central Government as well as the various provincial governments have issued notifications declaring many essential services such as railways, oil and fuel installations, port trusts and dock yards, municipalities, gas and electricity producing plants, telephone systems, certain banks and the like as employments to which this ordinance has been made applicable.

(4) *Rule 56A of the Defence of India Rules.*—During the August disturbances of 1942, hartals were observed in many industrial units in a large number of centres in India which affected essential war production. In order to prevent a similar trouble in the future, the Government of India amended the Defence of India Rules on the 17th April 1943 by adding Rule 56A for the prevention of hartals in places of employment. Contravention of the Rule is liable to imprisonment for a period upto five years or a fine which may extend to rupees five lakhs or with both.

(5) *Rule 78A of the Defence of India Rules.*—This rule was promulgated in the year 1943. It confers powers both on the Central and Provincial Governments to compel certain persons to do work when ordered to do so by authorised government servants. Refusal to comply with the order renders him liable to imprisonment, which may extend to six months, or fine or both.

It is worthwhile taking a short resume as to how the different measures adopted by government have worked out during the last two or three years. Under the Technical Training Scheme over 6,200 technicians had been trained by the end of February of this year. A committee is to be appointed by the Government of India to enquire into the post-war position of the Scheme. One can, however, make a few observations. It must be remembered at the outset, that in the feverish attempts to enrol a huge number, some misfits and under-qualified candidates must have been selected, as adequate attention was not paid to individual aptitudes. As regards training, it is admitted that a large number was drafted into services even before the courses were completed. The Government have undertaken to help such candidates to finish their courses after the hostilities are over.

We must not lose sight of the fact that the technicians are taught and worked under non-competitive conditions. They may have developed some wasteful habits of work. After the war, some of the trainees will continue to work as factory employees. But those who plan to start their own establishments later will face some difficulties. The first problem is that of securing adequate capital for establishing independent business. The writer has come in contact with two schools of thought in this connection. One school holds that the capital needed would be about a thousand or two thousand rupees. The other school thinks that a few hundreds might be sufficient and the technician could call upon some bigger workshops whenever he needs expensive machinery for his use. The practical experience that the trainees possess will always stand them in good stead and help them to face competition successfully. Some of them may even make a mark in the industrial field.

The Bevin Scheme is working quite satisfactorily. Another Bevin Scheme is under consideration for the training of officers. If this scheme materialises, it will supply Indian industry with the much needed managerial ability and supervisory personnel, especially in highly skilled occupations like shipbuilding, aircrafts, etc.

It may be remarked that in their attempt to maintain the standard of living of workers, Government have "robbed poorer Peter to pay poor Paul". The best way of redressing grievances would have been by strictly enforcing a price control scheme. Dearness allowances have been paid only to industrial workers who could exercise their power of collective bargaining and threaten cessation of production essential to war. But the weaker sections of the labour force, like the agricultural labourers and workers in bidi factories, are left almost unheeded. The employers do not hesitate to pay generous dearness allowances and bonuses firstly because they all are anxious to continue production; and secondly because they know that if they do not pay their workers, they will have to pay large amounts to the Government in the form of Excess Profits Tax.

The attention of the Government was drawn to the difficulties in administering dearness allowances when they themselves began to suffer losses. A committee was formed to frame the principles on which dearness allowances and bonuses would be paid. The draft-rules of the Committee are widely criticised specially because flexibility and the right of appeal to an impartial body are conspicuous by their absence and because they also include the inequity of retrospective effect. It is argued that dearness allowances have resulted in greater absenteeism, intemperance and alcoholism. At least, the extra payment that is due to labour might have been frozen in order to make a beginning in social insurance and strong trade unionism. This does not mean that the industrial worker in India is getting comparatively more than the

workers in other countries, or that his standard of life has risen to an inordinately high level. But the national dividend is being shared by the industrial workers in textiles and the like to the neglect of the other weaker sections of the labour force, and the extra payment has not been used in the most economic way.

The Tripartite Conferences are doing good spade work. By the end of January last four meetings of the Standing Advisory Committee had been held, all of them considering questions of labour welfare. As the Labour Member has it, "The Tripartite Labour Conference has its genesis in the exigencies of the War . . but it is to last beyond the war. It is going to be an institution which will have a permanent place in the economic structure of the country". This is quite as it should be.

The number of disputes has waned considerably. In the year ending September 1942, there were in all 125 disputes involving 187,000 workers and 10,58,900 work days lost. In the next year, there were only 25 disputes involving 6,754 workers and loss of 15,621 work days. Even after allowing for the August disturbances, we may say that the measures adopted by government have been effective in facilitating steady production.

The importance of the post-war planning for labour can hardly be over-estimated. The present mechanised warfare has made us realise more than ever before that labour is the main switch of all the activities of a nation. Much, therefore, needs to be done for labour. As Dr. Ambedkar says, "Our aim is not only better conditions of work but also better conditions of life." The Economic Section of the Pacific Relations Conference recommends, "peace, a house, adequate clothing, education, good health and above all, the right to walk with dignity on the world's boulevards without the fear of a fall". The Atlantic Charter aims at securing for all "improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security. Dr. Narayanswamy Naidu goes to the extent of calling it "a blot on civilization that one-fifth of the human race should live in perpetual starvation, miserable, perishing for lack of food, clothes and shelter, steeped in ignorance, harassed by disease and darkening the sunshine of the world's health and prosperity by serving as a reservoir of diseases, plagues and epidemics."

A separate reconstruction committee has been set up by the Government of India for "Labour and Demobilization". The post-war problems of labour may be divided into those of urgency during the immediate post-war and those of urgency on a long-term. Under the first category we may include problems like demobilisation and unemployment. As soon as the hostilities cease, men engaged on war service will be demobilised. Automatically unemployment will ensue but it will not, let us hope, assume very serious pro-

portions, because the boom will continue when some of the labour will be absorbed in the work of reconstruction. It is extremely necessary during the immediate post-war period to see that the work of demobilisation is synchronised with employment elsewhere. A statistical survey will be helpful in gauging the extent of the problem. Employment exchanges will play a useful part in serving as clearing house for the demand and supplying of labour. Public Works might be started out of the Reconstruction funds in order to provide emergency relief, and a start in life might be given to a large number by granting them capital. If the trades learnt by them in war-time do not hold out a prospect of their employment, it is necessary to teach them something more useful in order to fit them for their employment elsewhere.

When we take the long-term view of post-war reconstruction for labour three cardinal points suggest themselves to us: (1) Education, (2) Health, and (3) Freedom from Want.

(1) *Education*.—The Grady Mission was favourably impressed with excellent potentialities and quality of Indian labour. Given satisfactory working conditions and sound education, Indian labour will prove to be skilful, dependable and industrious. We have had enough of the present system of literary education. One of our greatest handicaps is the utter lack of proper facilities for technical and commercial education. Thanks to the war, a few technical courses and schemes have been introduced, but to organise technical education on a comprehensive scale, an entire change of outlook is necessary. Technical education should be the responsibility of the education department. But in India today, there is no unified control. The Sergeant scheme, though costly, will surely meet our needs to some extent and hence it deserves to be implemented. The first merit of the scheme is its socialistic outlook. If a boy is found to be mentally and physically fit for a high school, he will not be shut out from it simply because he happens to be born of poor parents who cannot pay for his education. One in five boys will be sent to high school and the State will provide for poor ones.

The second merit of the scheme is that it provides technical education side by side with practical training and some part of the time will be spent in actual manufacture. Provision is made for schools of artisans and technical high schools, and a three-year diploma for the higher types of engineers and the opening of polytechnics all over the country which will work under the National Council of Technical Education. This, in addition to compulsory primary education and vocational guidance, is all that is called for.

(2) *Public Health*.—Public health is not one problem but a bundle of problems closely related to and acting on one another. The problems are, to take the most select among them, nutrition and food supply, housing, poverty,

ignorance, industrial conditions, social and religious customs. The happiness and well-being of India depends largely upon the simultaneous solution of all these problems.

Nutrition and Food Supply.—"No health programme can succeed which fails to provide good nourishing food for all the people." According to Dr. Aykroyd, a minimum of Rs. 5 to 6 is needed per capita per month to provide an adult with minimum balanced nourishment. Thus if we were to take only a wholesome diet, Rs. 60/- or 70/- would be needed for each adult per year for food alone. The sum will be very much higher, as a matter of fact, because the labourer is accustomed to taking any palatable trash on the road-side without any heed to its nutritive value. With the per capita income of Rs. 108/- on a generous estimate, if the labourer were to spend Rs. 80/- or 90/- on balancing his diet, what can he be expected to do for his other wants?

Housing.—Housing of the industrial workers especially in the industrial Centres like Bombay, Calcutta and Cawnpore is simply horrible. No arrangement of public health programme can be useful so long as the worker is haunted by the spectre of squalor. Housing schemes on a large scale for workers need to be undertaken. The Government must take the initiative and not allow things to drift. As compared to other countries, our municipalities are doing nothing for bettering the housing conditions of labourers. Industrialists, the State and the municipalities must co-operate to solve the problem of housing the industrial workers. As it is in some foreign countries, the question of the housing of labour should be considered while choosing the site for an industrial undertaking. Due regard should be had to the four suggestions made by Sir William Beveridge regarding the building activity in one of his speeches at the National Gallery. The Four Stones suggested by Beveridge are (1) Planned use of land, (2) Sane use of transport, (3) Right use of right architects and (4) The maximum efficiency in the building industry.

Whereas poverty does not allow the workers to avail themselves of the prerequisites of health, ignorance does not allow the workers to do what could be done by them even without any cost. Social and religious conditions which are a handicap in the way of health should be fought out gradually by a protracted campaign against unhealthy social customs like early marriage, drinking or injudicious feasting.

Leaving aside a few renowned industrial undertakings, it is generally found that even in factories, the working conditions are far from satisfactory. Temperature, light, heat, dust, fencing of machinery, inspection of boilers, ventilation, supply of pure drinking water, these are items to be properly and vigorously enforced in every industrial undertaking. A national minimum of industrial welfare is very badly needed. The Jobber and the Pathan should

no longer be allowed to prey on the worker and he should be ensured the security of his employment and made quite conscious of his position as a man and a worker.

The Government must spend larger amounts on public health. The per capita expenditure on medical relief varies from one anna in U.P. to Rs. 1.2-5 in Delhi whereas it is Rs. 15/- in Great Britain and Rs. 30/- in the United States. The general average of per capita expenditure is only $3\frac{1}{2}$ annas. The Individual spends only 3.4% of the revenues on medical protection whereas Great Britain spends 22.7%. "Expenditure on public health, besides yielding an immense return in human happiness, is bound to produce great economic advantages." The State should not, therefore, shrink from any expenditure on public health.

(3) *Freedom from Want.*—There are a number of occasions and phases in a man's life when he cannot make a living. As a child, he does not know how to make a living and has to depend upon his parents. As a youth, he may fall sick or his employer may refuse to employ him or he may meet with an accident which may inflict on him a severe incapacity to carry on his time-honoured job. In old age when he is not able to do any work, he needs to be fed and looked after and when he dies, money should be spent to give him a decent cremation. If a woman is in family way, money should be provided for the extra expenses of confinement and the consequent cessation of work. Supposing her husband dies leaving a number of children as a legacy to the State, the State must provide for their upbringing and give the widow such amounts of money as will enable her to maintain herself and her children. Freedom from want can be achieved by providing for all these needs. Countries like Russia have achieved this after a great deal of privation; and countries like England mean to do a great deal towards it in the immediate future.

India, however, presents a number of problems to be handled very delicately. Firstly, the per capita income of Rs. 108 is too low to think of ambitious plans. Secondly, many new industries have still to be started in this country and if the cost of social insurance were to be too heavy on industries it may serve as a check to enterprise. But the condition of the industrial worker is equally delicate. The nation is faced with "cultural stagnation and social drift". Old institutions (like the joint family and the old village economy) are broken and thrown into disuse "without new ones being built on Indian thought and life". Whenever unemployment faces the worker, a resort to the village is not a universal remedy now, as it was some years ago. He has a large number of non-working dependents to support and all this becomes impossible if no financial provision is made for times of emergency. "Unemployment lessens income, reduces working efficiency, demoralises the

worker and his family, produces industrial and political unrest and a variety of social vices."

Need for social insurance is being realised in this country. A committee with Mr. D. V. Rege as chairman has been appointed to inquire into wages, standard of life, social conditions, housing and other such problems of labour in India and to "evolve plans for social security". Professor Adarkar's Scheme of Sickness Insurance for the worker in India is almost complete. It should have its beginning first among workers in organised industries like textiles.

Further, plans of social insurance should be expanded without hampering industrial enterprise. The per capita income being very low and the average earnings of workers not reaching even the accepted national minimum of Rs. 30/- it is not possible to make the workers contribute more than a negligible sum. The major share in contributing towards social insurance should be borne by the State and the employer.

While attending to the needs of the workers in organised industries, other sections of the labouring populace should not be forgotten. The worst sufferer is perhaps the agricultural labourer and every effort must be made to safeguard his interests. A Bill is before the Legislature for the recognition of Trade Unions and the demand is being made for uniform labour legislation over the country. Of course, agricultural labour is the most difficult to be brought together in trade unions, but still something could be done by the State as also by the intelligentsia to improve its lot. Perhaps, one easy way would be to universalise a tax on agricultural incomes and the amount so acquired, or a part thereof may be used in ameliorating the lot of the agricultural labourer.

We must never lose sight of one important fact namely that all these plans are impossible unless the National Dividend is enormously increased. The first need in that connection is the starting of basic industries, and to make ourselves self-sufficient as far as possible. The State must shed off the old robes and *laissez faire* and do all that it can to raise the national dividend. The fifteen year plan of the Industrialists issued from Bombay which aims at the investment of 10,000 crores should by all means be experimented by the State. Countries like Russia and Germany have proved that man-power and material are alone sufficient for the generation of economic power. Only the State should take interest in bringing these two together. In man-power and raw materials, India stands as a great power by the side of U.S.S.R., China and U. S. A. Only if the State changes its attitude, our economic emancipation is but a matter of time. As one author says, "Unemployment is a problem of industry—not an act of God . . . It needs not money so much as thought and organisation . . . to change men's habits and open their minds."

A NATIONAL MINIMUM WELFARE STANDARD FOR INDIAN LABOUR

RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE

As a part of post-war economic planning, the formulation of the objective tests of national welfare has become important. The writer discusses in this article the principles on which a national minimum wage should be based in order to ensure a decent existence for the working class.

Dr. Mukerjee is Head of the Department of Economics and Sociology of the Lucknow University.

IN every modern civilised country certain objective national welfare standards are formulated and statistical comparisons are instituted from time to time with a view to measure the improvement of the standard of living. The importance of such objective or statistical indices of progress has considerably increased in planned society. In India the present writer put forward certain nutritional standards in relation to agricultural progress in his "Food Planning for Four Hundred Millions". Later on in connection with the work of the National Planning Committee, he formulated certain objective tests of planned economic development in India which formed the basis of the recent Bombay Economic Plan. It was emphasised that statistical data were to be collated and compared with a view to measure the progress of the plan from time to time. The development of statistical work would be necessary to keep pace with the development of planning.¹

In view of the present interest in post-war economic planning in the country the formulation of the objective tests of national welfare has become imperative in the country. We have to lay down certain norms of food requirements in India according to physiological research and also standards for other elements of human consumption and welfare which make up a decent standard of living acceptable for the community. It is on this scientific basis that "the living wage standard" should be fixed forming the basis of the minimum wage regulation, which will safeguard, in the words of the Australian Federal Arbitration Court "the normal needs of the average employee regarded as a human being living in a civilised community."

While on one side norms of nutrition, clothing, housing, education and recreation will have to be developed, standard budgets of the workers' expenditure at different levels of income will have to be set up. In an important I. L. O. publication, it has been pointed out that the standard budget approach towards devising a measure of minimum wages and standards of

¹ Abstract of the Proceedings of the National Planning Committee, No. 1, p. 80.

living supplements the methods of elaboration of norms and even is much more widely used. The chief reason is that the elaboration of norms for many elements of consumption has not been found easy, being subject to divergent social considerations, which cannot be objectively measured. The two methods of approach should be adopted simultaneously in devising the national minimum wage scale. "It seems logical," observes the Report, "that for purposes of social policy, the two methods should be combined. As norms of nutrition, housing, clothing etc., are elaborated, they can be applied in setting up and in computing the costs of standard budgets."

In respect of the norms of nutrition, the following has been suggested by the writer :—

Indian Dietetic Standard

	Calories	Proteins grams	Percentage to the to- tal no. of Calories	Fats grams	Percent- age	Carbo- hydrates	Percent- age
Northern India (Wheat and legume-eaters).	3,000	85	11·6	60	18·6	605	82·68
Bengal and Southern India (Rice and legume-eaters).	2,400	75	12·81	50	19·37	472	80·63
McCarrison's Standard ..	3,500	100	11·71	90	25·45	450	52·71

Nutrition experts stress that the "good" diets should exceed the minimum standard by at least a 50 percent margin. "Poor" diets do not satisfy the minimum standard in one or more respects.

Dr. W. R. Aykroyd, Director of the Nutrition Research Laboratories, Coonoor, has recently laid down a minimum standard of daily intake of about 2,600 calories for an adult worker in India.² His figure is based on the assumption that an Indian male of sedentary occupation requires some 2,130 calories, a figure 10 percent below that of the League of Nations. To this he adds only 470 calories for six hours "moderate" work at the lowest reckoning. For industrial labour in India extended over an average of 8 to 9 hours, Aykroyd should have added at least 900 calories according to the schedule of supplementary calories necessary for muscular activity as fixed by the Expert Commission of the League of Nations.³

² Economic Aspects of the Problem of Nutrition in India, *The Indian Journal of Social Work*, Vol. II, No. 3.

³ The Indian Factories Act of 1934 maintains the 60 hour week and 11 hour day for seasonal factories and the 54 hour week and 10 hour day for perennial factories. The textile mills in India generally work 9 hours a day and 6 days in the week. Hours of work are 8 a day in the metal works and 9 a day in the seasonal factories. 10 to 12 hours a day are usual in the bidi, mica and other unregulated factories.

In our opinion, the standard of 2,600 calories for an Indian industrial worker is too low. Dr. Aykroyd's results, it is understood, were not based on any investigation of the basal metabolism of groups of Indian workers, which underlies the nutrition standards reached by Dr. W. Burridge and the present author in the Physiological Laboratory at King George's Medical College, Lucknow. The physiological experiments conducted over a course of years in respect of oxygen consumption at this laboratory have demonstrated that 1,200 to 1,400 calories represent the resting need of Indian peasants and workers, as compared with 1,600 to 1,800 calories in the United States and 1,700 calories for the British worker. The Food Committee of the Royal Society have, as a result of experiments and experience, estimate that for moderate work 700-1,100 calories, and for heavy work 1,100-2,000 calories are required in excess of resting need due to the increase of metabolism. Thus the actual calorie needs of the Indian workers will be higher than Dr. Aykroyd's minimum of 2,600 calories on which basis he has set out to prepare his standard dietary. This is brought out by the following table of comparison :—

	Basal Metabolism	Additional Calories necessary for industrial labour	Dietetic Norm for an industrial worker
Western worker (in Great Britain and U. S. A.)	... 1,700-1,800 (Calories)	1,000-2,000 (Calories)	3,500-3,800 (Calories)
Indian worker	... 1,200-1,400 (Calories)	1,000-2,000 (Calories)	3,000-3,400 (Calories)

Total Energy Requirement for an Indian for one day

Basal metabolism for an Indian for 24 hours	... 1,400 Calories
Saving in sleep (to be deducted)	... 142 ..

Corrected basal metabolism ... 1,258 Calories

Cost of day's activities—64 kg. (average body weight of an Indian) \times 16'18	... 1,035 Calories
Total cost of metabolism	... 2,293 ..
"Tax" for influence of food	... 137 ..

Day's Requirement ... 2,430 Calories

Workers in sedentary occupation, agriculturists, undertaking work in the fields, miners and industrial workers require different grades of calories for their occupations per day in addition to the basic requirement of 2,400

calories. Various estimates of calorie requirements according to occupations have been given by physiologists and nutrition workers of different countries. The following table roughly distinguishes between different kinds of work and gives the total number of calories required for man or woman of average height and weight in each.

Daily Calorie Requirement According to Occupation
(Mary Swarts Rose)

Type of Occupation	Total Calories per day		Calories per kg. per day
	Men	Women	
At rest but sitting most of day ...	2,000-2,200	1,600-1,800	30-33
Work chiefly done sitting ...	2,200-2,700	1,900-2,200	34-37
Work chiefly done standing or walking ...	2,800-3,000	2,300-2,500	38-42
Work developing muscular strength ...	3,100-3,500	2,600-3,000	43-50
Work requiring very strong muscles ...	4,000-6,000	.....	50-70

In practice it is, however, by no means easy to calculate an adequate diet, appropriate to categories of work on the various rigid basis of calories tabulated since the different categories often blend and are exceedingly complex. Thus it is an actual examination of the particular work or job undertaken by groups of persons of other physique, habits of life and other factors that give a surer clue to the determination of requirements for each.

Recently Professor Neville Moss has shown that certain heavy work, such as that of coal miners, requires food of greater energy value than was usually supposed. Instead of the usual assumption that the daily net energy requirement does not exceed 3,500 calories, Professor Moss shows by experiment in oxygen consumption that allowing for walking to and from home, and other forms of energy output during the remainder of the 24 hours, a collier will spend about 4,500 calories in energy per day.⁴ A great number of workers in a country is engaged on work demanded by 100,000 to 120,000 kilograms on a ten-hour day.

The standards adopted by the Health Organisation of the League of Nations and used in their investigation are as follows.⁵ A man or woman in a temperate climate, living an ordinary every day life but not engaged in manual work requires 2,400 calories per day. Additional calories should be allowed according to the amount of muscular work as follows :—

⁴ Quoted by Florence in : "A Scientific Labour Policy for Industrial Plants," *International Labour Review*, March 1941.

⁵ *The Problems of Nutrition*, Vol. II, League of Nations Publication.

		Extra Calories per hour of work necessary
Light work	...	75
Moderate work	...	75 to 150
Hard work	...	150 to 300
Very hard work	...	300 upwards

The acceptance of Dr. Aykroyd's norm of only 2,600 calories for Indian factory workers would involve severe bodily exhaustion and decline of the power of resistance which will contribute towards industrial inefficiency, greater absenteeism and prevalence of disease and mortality. It is regrettable that the Bombay Textile Labour Inquiry Committee adopted Dr. Aykroyd's dietetic norm, although Lt. Colonel S. S. Sokhey and Dr. A. S. Erulkar set up their theoretical minima at a higher level. In Baroda, Antia and Kale previously fixed a standard of 2,700 to 3,000 calories for the agriculturists of Baroda. According to Erulkar the monthly expenditure on food for a family of 3 consuming members who are non-vegetarian workers, amounts to Rs. 29-5-0 whereas Dr. Aykroyd's estimate, even including certain "extras", such as sugar, works out at Rs. 22-8-0 per month. To call sugar an "extra" in a dietetic norm for non-vegetarian workers can be defended neither by economists nor by physiologists, the standard of living of modern countries being often measured in terms of the consumption of sugar.

Our dietetic norm for Indian industrial workers—coolies, miners and loaders, textile workers, workers in the building and the engineering industries, earth diggers, road menders and the rest—is the minimum daily intake of 3,000-3,400 calories. This may safely be taken as an absolute minimum for the "living wage standard" in India.

Dietetic Norm for an Adult Worker in India

Calories	...	3,000
Protein	...	65 grams
Fats	...	60 „
Carbohydrates	...	605 „
Calcium	...	0'68 „
Phosphorus	...	1'32 „
Iron	...	15 milligrams
Vitamin A	...	6,000 international units
Vitamin B	...	2 milligrams
Vitamin C	...	60 „
Hebostavin	...	1 milligram

A Well-balanced Diet for an Adult Worker per Day

(11'4 grams = 1 tola)

	Non-vegetarian Diet	Vegetarian Diet
Whole wheat, millet or unmilled rice .	400 grams	450 grams
Pulses	100 „	100 „
Green vegetables	125 „	125 „
Green vegetables (non-leafy)	125 „	170 „
Fats and oils	50 „	60 „
Fruits	70 „	70 „
Milk	250 „	500 „
Egg	1 or 2 „	Nil
Meat and fish	100 grams	Nil

This dietetic norm is to be translated in terms of money. This has been done for the United Provinces. Several dietetics have been drawn up which yield about 3,000 calories and which cost between Rs. 5-8-0 to Rs. 6/- per mensem at pre-war rate. One such standard dietary for an adult worker is given below :—

	Standard daily consumption		Cost per month at pre-war price
			Rs. a. p.
Cereal :			
Wheat-Bajra	12 Chataks	...	1 12 10
Pulses :			
Gram		...	0 2 0
Dal	2 Chataks	...	0 7 9
Oil	1½ Tola	...	0 4 0
Salt		...	0 1 0
Spices		...	0 1 0
Gur	1 Chatak	...	0 4 1
Fruits and Vegetables		...	0 8 0
Total Monthly Cost			Rs. 3 8 8

In the absence of full enquiries relating to the average size and composition of working class families in the different provinces in India, we may work out standard consumption units by applying Lusk's co-efficients of comparison of the food requirements of women and children with those of an average man to the average family structure in Bombay,

Size and Composition of the Working Class Family in Bombay
(all industries, 2,473 families investigated in 1921-1922)

Persons Living in the Family			Dependants Living	Total
Men	Women	Children (under 14 years)	away from the Family	
1'10	1'10	2'00	0'60	4'80

Lusk's Table of Food Requirements

Child (0-15 years)	... 0'7
Adult Male (15 and upward)	... 1'0
Adult Female (15 and upward)	... 0'83

We would assume that the dependants left behind in the village have some kind of subsistence to depend upon and exclude them in the calculation of the minimum wage, minors and women being taken generally along with the workers into their homes in the industrial centres. This would give for the average workers' family : males = 1'10, women = '913 and children = 1'4; altogether 3'413 consumption units. Calculating the cost of the standard dietary for a family of 3'4 consumption units the estimate would work out at $3'4 \times \text{Rs. } 3\text{-}8\text{-}8$ or Rs. 12-0-8. To this we have to add the expenditure for a normal family of four on milk and milk products and ghee or in the alternative, which can be better reckoned by the family and not by the per capita consumption, Milk—Re. 1/- and Ghee or meat Rs. 1-4-0. This would result in a total of Rs. 14-4-8 as representing the cost of the dietary in the United Provinces. This figure may be compared with the Bombay Textile Enquiry Committee standard of Rs. 22-8-0 and Dr. Erulkar's figure of Rs. 29-5-0 (non-vegetarian norm) for an average sized worker's family of a man, wife and two dependants (or three consumption units).

In respect of clothing and housing standards the norm cannot be laid down as definitely as the standard of dietary which though it varies in different climates and regions can be expressed quantitatively in terms of the proximate principles of nutrition. Clothing and housing standards are largely a matter of social conventions and considerations that vary widely according to races and regions and that cannot be measured precisely by objective scientific standards which are applicable in respect of nutrition. For Indian clothing and housing standards the norms were set up by the present writer in the Committee of Aims and Purposes of National Planning. These are given below* :—

45 yards of clothing per capita per annum.

100 sq. ft. of living space in the house per capita.

* National Planning Committee's Report, I, page 80. (The clothing standard has been raised from 30 to 45 yds. to include bedding, wrapper, head-gear etc.)

In the slums of the industrial cities of India, where the most considerable majority of the working population—76 percent in Cawnpore and more than 96 percent in Bombay City—lives in single-room bustees or tenements, with four to a dozen inhabitants each, normal family life is impossible. For setting up housing standard in India, we have to adopt a twofold test, viz., firstly, that the accommodation or room space avoids over-crowding which can be measured objectively; secondly, there should be ample privacy and separation of sexes which alone can ensure happiness and decencies of family living. The Australian Royal Commission on the Basic Wage laid down the minimum of a four-room house as necessary for the working class. This is also the standard for the minimum house in the U. S. A.—4 rooms; a living room, a kitchen, two bed rooms, and a bath room. In Great Britain the standard adopted is even higher. The density of houses cannot exceed 12 per acre and it is laid down that for a normal working class family, there shall be provided a dwelling containing a parlour, kitchen, a scullery, three bed rooms, and a bath room in addition to the ordinary conveniences. In India, we should adopt a two room bustee or tenement with a verandah as the minimum accommodation. The same room need not now be used as kitchen, living and bed-room for adults and grown up boys and girls; the verandah is a necessary enjoyable adjunct in the Indian climate. The working class tenements should not be built back to back, and the alleys should be wide so that one need not turn sideways to pass through them; there should be an adequate number of water taps, bathing and washing places, latrines and urinals. The Rent Enquiry Committee, Bombay, laid down a definite minimum housing standard as follows: "It is desirable to discourage construction of one-roomed tenements, but wherever they are found necessary they should not accommodate more than 4 persons."¹ Not merely should the minimum size of the rooms be laid down, but the minimum number of cubic feet per head should also be prescribed to prevent over-crowding. Recently the Ahmedabad Municipality has in its municipal bye-laws prescribed a minimum provision of a room, a verandah and a kitchen. The minimum dimensions of a living room are fixed at 12' × 12'. One living room, a kitchen and a verandah either in front or behind may be accepted as a reasonable housing standard for the Indian working class. In the United Provinces the accommodation of two-rooms with a verandah may be had on Rs. 3-4-0 per mensem.

We may now estimate the dietetic, clothing, housing, and other norms as follows for setting up the national minimum wage scale :—

¹ Report of the Rent Enquiry Committee, Bombay, 1939, Vol. I, page 59.

*The National Minimum Wage Standard for a Worker's Family
of Four Persons*

Cost per Month at Pre-war Prices—		Rs.	a.	p.
1. Physiologically adequate dietary	...	14	4	8
2. Clothing	...	4	12	4
3. Fuel and light	...	2	0	0
4. Rent	...	3	4	0
5. Betel, tobacco, soaps and cigarettes	...	1	8	0
6. Ceremonies and festivals	...	1	0	0
7. Education	...	1	0	0
8. Barber, washerman, and tailoring charges	...	1	0	0
9. Recreations, travelling and medicines	...	2	0	0
Total		30	13	0

The question then arises, should women's minimum wage be fixed on a par with men's? Before discussing the subject, it is necessary to make it clear that the wife or daughter of the Indian worker hardly counts at all in Indian industry. Family budget studies in the Bombay Presidency have made it abundantly clear that in the vast majority of cases the wife or daughter is not in actual fact in any employment. Of the natural families contained in the family budget studies, 71·65 per cent in Bombay and 74·40 per cent in Ahmedabad, depend on the earnings of only the head of the family.⁸ While in the actual labour situation the earnings of the wife or daughter are hardly significant, in a proper interpretation of the minimum wage, the wife and daughters of the working-class family are not to be regarded as adding to its income by work away from home but as contributing towards happiness and comfort of the family by their household duties in the house where meals have to be prepared, clothing washed and the little ones cared for by them. This interpretation forms the basis of the declaration of the basic wage in Queensland, Australia. We read in their Act: The basic wage of an adult male employee must be not less than is "sufficient to maintain a well-conducted employee and his wife and a family of three children in a fair and average standard of comfort, having regard to the conditions of living prevailing among employees in the calling in respect of which such basic wage is fixed, and providing that in fixing such wage the earnings of the children or wife of such employee shall not be taken into account."⁹

⁸ Report of the Textile Labour Inquiry Committee, Bombay, Vol. II, page 38.

⁹ Queensland, Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act, 1932.

The definition of minimum wage in China also contemplates that one worker shall be entitled to have a sufficient wage to support himself or herself, with two members of a family. Minimum child labour wages are not to be lower than half the minimum adult wage.

But there is a large number of unattached women and widows in India who are employed in factories while in the mines and plantations, it has been the practice of the family to work and live together. Of course, women labour has now been excluded from underground work in the mines but women are employed in appreciable numbers on the surface.¹⁰ The number of women employed in various types of industrial undertakings is considerable and since they obtain the lowest wage rates, it is necessary that the minimum wage regulation should specially be applicable to women workers. As a matter of fact, in the minimum wage movement, as it spread from Australia to Great Britain and thence to the U.S.A., legislation affecting women workers was considered in Australia, Great Britain, and the United States, more legitimate than legislation covering men workers.

No doubt, the national minimum wage regulations in India should begin with the industries in which the largest number of women and children are now employed. Minimum wage rates should be laid down, for women and children workers, covering industries such as cotton, jute, mica and shellac manufacture, bidi making, carpet weaving, cloth printing, dyeing and weaving where "sweating" has gone on for decades with impunity. In the case of the minimum wage for the woman worker, the wage rate should be so fixed as to supply the necessary cost of living to maintain her good health and also to protect her morals. In several States in America the Statute requires that the minimum-wage rates for women shall be adequate for the protection of morals as well as health. The opinion of the Supreme Court of the U. S. A., in 1923, stressed that the declared basis of the minimum wage rates fixed for the woman employee "is not the value of the service rendered, but the extraneous circumstances that the employee needs to get a prescribed sum of money to insure her subsistence, health and morals." The U. S. A. Fair Labour Standards Act of 1938 does not admit a minimum wage for women lower than that for men, and the same is the practice adopted in Russia, Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. In France, the minimum wage policy was first adopted as covering only female workers in the clothing industry by the Act of 10th July 1915. But the scope was subsequently extended in order to include male workers as well by the Act of 14th December 1928. In the U. S. A., the state minimum wage laws passed since 1912 were also limited in their scope to women and minors of either sex under 18 years in the various occupations.

In India, the minimum wage policy should similarly begin with laying down minimum wage rates for women as well as for minors between the ages 13 and 17 which is the age of majority in the eye of the Factories Act (XXV

¹⁰ Women have been readmitted to underground work in war-time.

of 1934) whereas below 15 years is the period of childhood. Now the Employment of Children's Act passed in 1938 and subsequently amended in 1939 lays down that no child who has not completed 12 years shall be employed in certain types of workshops such as mica cutting and splitting, shellac manufacture, bidi making, carpet weaving etc. It is necessary to eliminate what is called sweat shop wages for all working children by laying down the minimum wage rates for them. Beginning thus with the minimum wage rates for women and minors, an Indian Minimum Wage Act should lay down a National Minimum Wage for all men workers establishing fair and reasonable standards of decent civilised existence for the working class as the common denominator for Indian Industry.

TREATMENT AND PREVENTION OF MENTAL DISORDER IN INDIA

M. V. GOVINDASWAMY

Pointing out that the problem of mental breakdown is enormous in India and that efforts must be made to tackle it without delay, the writer suggests various measures which are necessary for the treatment and prevention of mental disorder in this his Memorandum to the Sub-Committee of Experts in Mental Diseases and Mental Hygiene of the Sir Joseph Bhore Medical Survey and Development Committee.

Dr. Govindaswamy is Superintendent of the Government Mental Hospital, Bangalore.

MEASURES necessary for the prevention and treatment of Mental disorder may be said to be inadequate in any country in the world. One child, out of every fifty children born, is likely to have a nervous breakdown, sometime or other during its life, the actual number in any country depending however on its rate of infantile mortality. Amongst the adult population the number roughly works out to about one in ten thousand. In India, with a population of four hundred million, provision will have to be made for at least a million patients, major and minor nervous breakdowns included. At present there are hardly twenty thousand beds, many of them in institutions which are no better than asylums for lunatics. There is no provision whatsoever for the care and training of mental defectives.

India is a very poor country, and this colossal problem cannot be tackled in its entirety all at once. What is necessary, however, is to make a beginning in a modest manner by providing a number of small hospitals in different parts of the country placing them in charge of medical officers, who are trained for that purpose, and who are really interested in such work. Work in a mental hospital is very exacting, unremunerative, and people who have no aptitude for it must be discouraged from getting in. In addition to mental hospitals for the active treatment of the curable group of patients, provision must be made for semi-industrial and semi-agricultural colonies for the care of the able-bodied, harmless patients; schools and clinics for the care of mentally retarded and defective children will be another necessity.

I would like to stress again that India is a poor country. Money should not be wasted unnecessarily on huge buildings, which are left without equipment and staff, as has often happened in many parts of India. With the living index based on prewar figures a sum of one rupee per patient per day should be the all inclusive charge for patients who need hospital care, and six annas per patient per day for the colony group.

Thanks to the psychological insight of our ancestors, our society is so framed as to provide the maximum of security against mental breakdowns.

- Belief in God, development of a personal philosophy of life, unitary family system and early marriage engagements offer the greatest defence against a breakdown. With changing conditions in society, various adaptations will have to be made, however, but instead of modifying the superstructure, attempts are being made to-day to disturb the foundations of Indian society with disastrous results.

Statistically speaking, organic factors predominate in the causation of mental disorders in India, and even in the professedly psychogenic disorders, like the schizophrenias and psychoneuroses, organic factors colour the picture. They are in the order of importance, chronic starvation, avitaminosis, dehydrations, anaemias, fevers and in women child birth and other exhaustive states. Psychological and sociological factors, however important in individual cases, have not in India the same statistical significance as in Western countries. Hence, even in the designing of mental hospitals these factors have to be kept in mind, and it is suggested that mental hospitals in India must be designed in the same manner as general hospitals, adequate safe-guards, however, being provided for the safety of these patients.

With recent advances in the investigation and treatment of mental disorder, it is becoming more apparent at any rate in India that the chances of recovery of mental patients are at least equal to, if not more than that of patients suffering from general diseases. Hence, money spent on their care and treatment will not be a waste. In the succeeding paragraphs, an attempt is made to discuss on an etiological basis, as applicable to conditions in India, one's hopes and limitations in the care and treatment of the mentally afflicted.

In the entrance lobby of the Mental Hospital, Bangalore is displayed prominently the following notice, which sums up our present knowledge of mental disorder.

INSANITY

WHAT SOME PEOPLE STILL BELIEVE

1. That "Insanity" is either a disgrace or a mysterious affliction that cannot be prevented or cured.
2. That "Insanity" is a single disease of only the most serious kind.

WHAT SCIENCE TEACHES TO-DAY

1. That "Insanity" includes a group of more severe types of mental disease that need early medical treatment, just as heart disease, and no one need be ashamed of sickness.
2. That there are many different kinds of mental disease, some mild, some serious. The symptoms also are different.

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| <p>3. That "Insanity" comes suddenly and without warning.</p> <p>4. That people are helpless to prevent "Insanity".</p> <p>5. That emotional shock, loss of dear ones, disappointment in love, loss of money or other misfortunes cause "Insanity".</p> <p>6. That "Insane Asylums" are dreadful places and that to go to one means never to come out.</p> <p>7. That "Insanity" is inherited.</p> | <p>3. That mental disease develops gradually and displays warning signs in advance.</p> <p>4. That danger signals (symptom) of an approaching breakdown can usually be recognised, and if these are given prompt medical attention, the threatened mental disease can often be prevented.</p> <p>5. That shocks or losses may precipitate a mental disorder. But in such cases the real possibilities of the illness have been present for some time but unrecognised.</p> <p>6. That our "Asylums" now are hospitals from which 25 to 40 per cent of all patients are discharged as recovered or improved.</p> <p>7. That some kinds of mental disease probably have an inherited background, but a greater number seem to arise from inability to adjust to a different environment.</p> |
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Etiological Factors.—Prevention and treatment of any form of disease involves consideration of factors giving rise to it. In mental disorder or defect of any kind, these factors may be placed in four groups :—

- (1) Anomalies of innate make up.
- (2) Anomalies of the changes incidental to particular ages, or epochs of life considered in relation to the sex of the individual.
- (3) Exceptional mental experiences, recent or remote.
- (4) Gross physical influences which include structural and biochemical pathological processes.

Hence, every mental experience, normal or abnormal, is the resultant of heredity, sex, stresses and strains of life, and physical influences. Multiple factors are almost invariably associated with mental disorder. It is beyond one's powers to remove the innate constitutional tendency for it. All that can be attempted is the reduction of overt manifestations. From the point of view of prophylaxis, one can only hope to keep in check, either before or after an attack, such manifestations. Having some idea of the range of conditions to be prevented, it is necessary now to consider how best this could be done.

It must be emphasised at this stage that inspite of considerable advances in our understanding and treatment of mental disorder, our knowledge of it is still at the descriptive level. Mental disorders can best be compared to syndromes in general medicine. To designate them in any other fashion would be suggestive of wishful thinking.

General Measures.—Measures necessary for the treatment and prevention of mental disorder fall under the following four heads :—

- (1) Education of the whole medical profession.
- (2) Provision of trained personnel.
- (3) Provision of suitable institutions.
- (4) Research.

MEDICAL EDUCATION.—It is due to lack of proper education of the Medical profession in the fundamentals of psychological medicine that the public, as well as the practitioner, view the present incidence of mental disorder with either smug complacency or undeserved horror. Although it is true that the bulk of the medical profession is not intimately concerned with the treatment of mental patients as such, yet it is essential that they must have an increased realisation of the size of the problem and should use their influence to rouse the public mind.

The general practitioner must be trained to recognise, as in the case of abdominal emergencies, the cases that need a specialist intervention, and where to go for it. More important than this, the practitioner must be trained to recognise the large number of neurotics in whom intensive psycho-analytical treatment is to be avoided.

(a) **Training of Medical Students.**—In all progressive medical schools, a course of lecture demonstrations in psychological medicine should form part of the curricula of senior medical students. Provided the lecturers are well-trained, and are themselves interested in psychiatry, nothing more is necessary. It is desirable however that a course of lectures on physiological psychology be given for second year students.

(b) **Training of General Practitioners.**—As part of the post-graduate training of practitioners, there must be arranged from time to time, preferably in University psychiatric clinics, an intensive course lasting for a week to ten days, the object of which should be to acquaint them with the recent advances in the understanding and treatment of mental disorders.

On the psychological side, emphasis should be on simple mental mechanisms, and on the physiological side on a greater appreciation of general medical and bio-chemical problems associated with mental disorder. The note should obviously be one of optimism.

TRAINED PERSONNEL.—**Medical Consultants.**—It must be made oblig-

atory that every consultant in general medicine should spend at least three months either as a house surgeon, or as a post-graduate student, in a teaching mental hospital.

Psychiatrists.—No one should be permitted to occupy a responsible post in a mental hospital unless he possesses a good degree in general medicine, has been a house surgeon subsequently in a general hospital, and *in addition* possesses a diploma in psychological medicine comparable to the one granted by the conjoint Board in England or by the American Association of Psychiatry in the United States.

It is high time that a diploma course on similar lines was started in India. The controlling, as well as the organising, authority should, in the initial stages, be the Government of India or its representative, the All India Medical Council. Later it could be decentralised, the Universities taking up the responsibility for the actual teaching, the supervision and control continuing to remain as before with the Government of India.

Mental Nurses.—Nursing of mental patients is a highly specialised job and since there are very few trained mental nurses in India, the first step is to train them. Mental nurses must be mostly women. It has been the experience in the Mental Hospital, Bangalore, that women nurses can manage even the most disturbed patients much better than the male Nursing Assistants. Although personally I do not like male Nursing Assistants at all, yet no mental hospital as constituted at present can entirely dispense with their services. All those who intend becoming mental nurses, men or women, must possess a diploma in sick nursing and then be trained in Mental Hospitals, on lines similar to the ones laid down by the Royal Medical Psychological Association in England, and a certificate granted after an examination. The life of such nurses in Mental Hospitals is very hard, and mental nursing must be made attractive by better scales of pay and by various amenities being provided for them.

Psychiatric Social Workers and Occupation Therapists.—Psychiatric social workers are being trained in the Tata Institute of Social Sciences at Bombay, and it would be desirable if the same School could be persuaded to train occupation therapists also.

SUITABLE INSTITUTIONS.—**Neuro-Psychiatric-Clinics.**—The institution of an out-patient clinic for psychiatry at every large general hospital is highly desirable, also inexpensive. It would be the means of dealing with minor cases, usually those needing psychological, rather than physical, treatment. Even if physical treatment is required, it would easily be administered, if provision could be made for a few beds. Such psychiatric clinics should be coupled with one for organic Neurology.

Mental Hospitals.—A large number of hospitals than those that exist at present has been acknowledged to be a necessity in India. No mental hospital to be designed in future should have provision for more than five hundred beds, preferably less. The methods of admission should be largely on a voluntary basis. Clinics, similar to Maudsley Hospital in London, Phipp's Psychiatric Clinic at Baltimore and the Boston Psychopathic Clinic, should be started to serve as centres of teaching, research, and also to serve as receiving and distributing centres for patients to other institutions.

In all hospitals, no patient should be kept for more than a year or eighteen months, the incurable patients being transferred either to the care of relatives or to registered families as on the continent, or sent to colonies meant for their care. Under no circumstances should curable and incurable patients be mixed up and cared for as is the practice at present in all mental institutions in India. This is undesirable for economic, therapeutic and psychological reasons.

Semi-agricultural and industrial colonies for chronic patients and for epileptics would be, for reasons mentioned above, a necessity. These colonies designed on the lines of Stoke Part Colony and Maghull Colony in England can be made largely self-supporting.

Special institutions for congenital mental defectives should be established. The problem connected with these are in many ways related to the medical aspects of education rather than to the treatment of adult mental disorder.

Where there is pressure on beds, if the number warrants it, separate disposal of criminal cases will be advisable. Such cases occupy beds for too long, and come much in the way of the Mental Hospital being used for those who should be encouraged to do so.

Child Guidance Clinic.—The Child Guidance Clinic justifies its existence by reducing actual unhappiness in children, but there is no evidence as to how far such troubles as it treats are really the precursors of mental disorders in adults. A large proportion of well defined adult psychoses, whether schizophrenic or manic-depressive, are wholly devoid of any history suggesting such relations. The connection is probably more close in delinquency, but even here it is difficult to say how far treatment in childhood could have really removed such tendencies.

One notices in psychiatric literature a tendency for some authors to unduly emphasise the importance of impression in infancy at such early stages that even the child guidance clinics cannot deal with them. It is difficult to swallow that such events as removal of an infant from the breast before satisfaction can be responsible for later breakdowns. It is not sufficiently empha-

sised that the child, although impressionable, has a greater tendency to return to normal than such theories seem to warrant, and that, unless the bad influences are sufficiently prolonged and persistent, the child invariably gets over them. In fact, it is this hopeful view that justifies the existence of child guidance clinics.

RESEARCH.—Organisation of research is by far the most important need of psychiatry. The last generation was much occupied with studies, both psycho-analytical and psychiatrie which had none of the qualities of science and were useless for prevention of treatment inasmuch as their object was more to elaborate reasons for the form rather than for the occurrence of mental disorder and defect.

In India with emphasis on the organic background in the causation of mental disorder, a more useful line of research would be that based on the bio-chemistry, applied physiology and pathology of mental disorder. Hence provision for research in mental hospitals in India will have to be on lines similar to those in General Hospitals. Since it is not practicable for every mental hospital to be equipped for organised research in every field of mental disorder, it seems desirable that each institution should specialise in one branch only. Neural Syphilis, Bio-chemistry, Bacteriology, Spa treatment, Intra-cranial surgery, Neuro-encephalography and electro-therapy as applied to mental disorder, are, to mention the most important, subjects well worth investigation. This should not detract, however, from research being undertaken, if there are willing men, even in ill-equipped institutions, under very adverse circumstances. While enough provision must be made for organised research in special institutions, no hospital should be starved of equipment for clinical laboratory and psychometric investigation for routine work.

INDIGENOUS SYSTEM.—It seems also worthwhile as matters for research to devote attention to some aspects of the indigenous treatment of Mental disorder in India. In Malabar especially, I have noticed that some of the methods adopted are exceedingly good in principle, massage, hydrotherapy, physical therapy aimed to relax the muscles and bodily organs, diets carefully chosen to induce acidosis or alkalosis, are some of the most important. While the principles are scientific, their application is not so. The cases are badly selected and the execution is often brutal. Carefully sifted, there are probably many lessons to be learnt from them.

On the theoretical side, ancient Indian scriptures seem to be a store house of valuable information. But the chaff has to be separated from the grain, and those who have a sufficient knowledge of Sanskrit and a scientific mind must be encouraged to do so.

POST WAR UNEMPLOYMENT, MALNUTRITION, DRUG ADDICTION, AND

OTHER PROBLEMS OF FRUSTRATION.—It will be the responsibility of the central Government with the co-operation of every individual in India to prevent unemployment and starvation. It is obvious that this should be the major problem in the prophylaxis of mental disorder and there is no need specially to stress it.

As regards individual problems of frustration, it would be for the family physician and the specialist to deal with them as best as they can.

OTHER MEASURES.—Constructive Eugenics, sterilisation of the unfit, legalisation of abortion are measures which, however much one might accept in principle, are so controversial and so fraught with possibilities of abuse, as has happened in Germany, that it is preferable to consider each case on its merits and not attempt any legislation at present and for some time to come as well.

There has been a good deal of talk about treatment of first symptoms in neurosis on the analogy of cancer and tuberculosis. If such treatment confined itself to reassurance and encouragement and general indirect psychotherapy, it would do no harm. But persistent probing and discouragement of responsibility are dangerous remedies.

As regards giving collective advice by lectures, and by publication of pamphlets on details of mental hygiene, my view is that due to the possibilities of misunderstanding and misapplication it would do more harm than good.

Conclusion.—These arguments in respect of mental disorder might seem to suggest the over-enthusiasm of a specialist. Trained and brought up in the school of biology, my conviction is that, in India at any rate, great deal of good can be done by starting many but small and well staffed and well equipped mental hospitals on the lines of general hospitals with men well grounded in physiology bio-chemistry, and general medicine. The problem of mental disorder is enormous but efforts must be made to tackle it even from now, although on a small scale, and not to postpone it to the years to come.

THE TEEN-AGE—ITS TRAITS AND TRAINING

LALITA KUMARAPPA

The period known as adolescence is an age of transition from childhood to adulthood. The transition, which is not easy to effect, is made even more difficult by the complexity of our civilization. As it is the period which moulds to a large extent the man of the future, the writer makes a plea for a better understanding and sympathetic treatment and training of the adolescent.

Lalita Kumarappa (Mrs. I. D. Kotwal) has made a special study of Child Psychology and contributes frequently to educational and other journals on the subject.

TILL recently there was little or no material upon childhood and adolescence—those important phases through which every human being has to pass, happily or otherwise, before he or she can become a respectable member of society. Strangely enough, psychologists and sociologists seemed to have ignored these periods, while contributing widely to the study of the adult as a social being. Now, however, we are awake to the importance of first understanding “why the youngster ticks” before satisfactory conclusions regarding the grown-up and his behaviour in society can be reached. This is vitally necessary for we must consider “childhood as a long period of training in socialization” during which his thoughts and actions are shaped by the *mores* of his particular community.

Then passing from egotistical and care-free days of childhood the person enters upon the phase of “the teen-age” or adolescence—usually a far more bothersome stage to get through, with its conflicting ideas that are at once both childish and adult. It is this period which moulds the man of the future to a large extent, and hence we can see the need for very careful and sympathetic handling of those in our charge. Often some adult is really to blame for the so-called “difficult, neurotic, or pseudo-ascetic” type of adolescent one frequently hears about. It is with adolescence and its traits and training that I wish to deal with in this article.

The transition from childhood to adulthood is well-expressed by E. L. Mudge who says, “Adolescence is a whirlpool, a maelstrom of shifting, swirling impulses”. Though we find it difficult to picture the erratic and undependable boy developed into a man of sound sense, or the tomboy girl into a lovely young lady who, later, becomes wife and mother, yet Nature ordains it so, because adolescence is not a static period but one of constant and rapid progress. Whether or not the adolescent passes normally and easily from childish attitudes to a more mature status, freeing himself gradually from the parental apron strings, will greatly depend upon the nature of

his earlier experiences and the type of family of which he is a member. For example, in primitive tribes it was the custom for children to pass over from family life to group life at puberty. A brief transition sufficed; it provided the time for the elaborate rituals and initiation ceremonies to impress upon him the significance of his new estate, and to confer upon him the privileges and distinctions attendant upon the latter, as well as to teach him the tribal lore and arts which were handed down secretly from father to son.

In contrast to this, we find that modern society with its highly developed civilization and culture has lengthened out this transitional period considerably, and years are necessary for the adolescent of today to absorb enough of this culture to adequately equip him to fight his manhood battles, and make a living, provide for a family, and function as a citizen. Thus the child who is dependent upon his parents to make all his decisions for him will be ill-equipped to break away from family ties. Therefore, it is desirable that parents strive to prepare him during childhood for assuming certain responsibilities that will later enable him to direct his own affairs by not encouraging him in clinging childhood dependance. As he grows the relationship should be one of affectionate companionship, and not that of protected and protector. This type of relationship should be carried over in a natural manner to adulthood. If the child has had a normal family life then the dreaded changes of adolescence will come about quite unobtrusively and easily. It will be a simple extension of personal responsibility and gradual change in the home relationships, as new interests and objects for affection are found outside the family circle—at school, in the neighbourhood, and so forth. Such slight emotional disturbances as may occur due to the physical growths attending puberty will be slight, and not the unnecessary and painfully intense emotional conflicts arising from previous failures in adjusting to the new demands made upon him by his environment and the elders ruling it, as well as by his peers.

More than ever before is he now conscious of the desire to be considered on an equal par with the other adult around him, so he resents authority and tries to prove his manhood by flaunting it and making his own decisions—sometimes to his downfall, let it be said. This is partly a normal process, for progress can only come through trial and error, leading to final success. At this period the adolescent wants to do away with all reminders of his infant days, and craves recognition as an adult who ought to be treated with respect. Unfortunately, many parents fail to grasp the significance of this critical situation, and instead of treating the young man with the dignity and sympathetic understanding his new status requires they tease him, and make him terribly self-conscious, awkward, and reticent by their unconscious

and selfish desire to keep him under their control, as well as dependent on them for as long as possible. We find that girls and boys going through this period of paradoxes are, on the one hand, beginning to take things seriously, to think about life's problems, and the part they will play in the future, and to be hyper-sensitive to criticism or reproof while, on the other, they are passing through the experiences of questioning, curiosity, humility, ideals, abasement, and the desire for the social approval of the gang and the adult self-group in which they move. Adolescents, who are repressed by their elders who do not understand the peculiarities of the age, frequently compensate by day-dreaming about a rosy future, and wandering off mentally on a delightful wool-gathering expedition, and physically, by running away or playing truant.

During adolescence there is not only rapid emotional and mental development, but also great physical changes which usher the child from childhood into adulthood. He grows very fast, the contours of the body change, he acquires secondary sex characteristics, and some of the hormones which were more or less dormant till now, such as those in the genital organs, begin to function. Hence, it is a period of excessive nervous energy, disquiet, and awkwardness. To lessen these symptoms and to direct this surplus energy into good channels, it is advisable to see that adolescents get plenty of exercise (but without causing strain on the heart and lungs) from sports to "let off steam", and practise control and co-ordination. It is said that many teen-age youngsters possess the intelligence, intuition and power to reason equal to that of adults; so this would then be the right time to place good literature, works of art, music etc., into their hands for appreciation and study, for is not adolescence, more than any other period of our life, individualistic and variable, and capable of deep understanding and insight? Cox and Meade believe that to a large degree the inspiration which marks the individual as a genius is first seen during youth. Whether that is so or not, the fact still remains that adolescence is, undoubtedly, the period of artistic, mechanical, and creative efforts, as well as intense religious fervour—religious gatherings show that the leaders and most ardent enthusiasts are teen-age folk. Some readers will probably wish to say that these various enthusiasms are nothing but sublimations of the biological urge which cannot have a normal outlet for some years to come by any other socially approved method. Perhaps it is so, because several studies have shown that this creative fervour was lost in later years—in many cases. Those retaining it were of the genius class, and kept it up till the end of their days.

"With the maturation of the physiological functions of sex at adolescence, this emotion becomes a powerful drive for the motivation of the individual", and we find that, boys and girls becoming increasingly aware of

the desire to appear attractive to each other spend much time on clothes and personal appearance; the desire to participate in mixed functions, such as picnics, parties and dances, and to pair off in couples, also becomes evident. This is in direct opposition to the previous stages of childhood and pre-adolescence in which each sex was sharply segregated because of dislike and contempt for the other. However, in infancy things were again different, for boys and girls played harmoniously together without any sex consciousness. In order to make the teen-age less open to moral blunders and pitfalls, it is wise to tell him all there is to know about sex in a frank and simple way. Let him keep pets, so that he can observe them have young ones, or give him a good book on the subject, and also tell your own family doctor to have a chat with him. This is vastly better than his picking up undesirable information regarding sex on the sly and from people least fitted to give it. If he gets his knowledge in a straight-forward manner there is no need for him either to be ashamed of his sex impulses and urges, or to feel he should shun everything pertaining to it. Suppressing sex interests either through fear or shame frequently produces a warped and unhealthy attitude which is bad for him psychologically and physically. Instead, he should be allowed to indulge in the usual "puppy love" and idealistic first love affairs without feeling self-conscious or embarrassed, for he will presently outgrow it and pass on to adult love in a natural and desirable way. Not enough can be said upon the need, at this critical stage, of a normal and healthy attitude towards the relations between boys and girls, the men and women of the future.

It can be truly said that "the sincerest form of flattery is imitation". Like monkeys, we humans have this trait strongly developed, and we indulge in it from the cradle upwards. At first the imitation has little rhyme or reason to anyone but the child doing it. Later on in adolescence it is more selective—frequently stupidly slavish—and done with the desire for self-approval through obtaining the praise of others. This is the period of "hero worship" when the ideal is closely copied as to mannerisms, dress, speech and so on. Hence, it is the duty of the one so-admired to be a worthy model, and to set a good example by his own fine behaviour, for, as Burke says, "it is by imitation far more than by precept, that we learn everything; and what we learn thus, we acquire not only far more effectively, but far more pleasantly."

Since adolescence is a transitional period the conflicting drives of childhood and adulthood pull him first in one direction and then in the other; hence he usually suffers from acute insecurity. To counteract it, he does his best "to belong"—in other words, to fall in with the herd. Most youngsters at this period belong to "a gang" which is "a coalition of individuals of similar ages". What the leader ordains is faithfully carried out by his devoted

and selfish desire to keep him under their control, as well as dependent on them for as long as possible. We find that girls and boys going through this period of paradoxes are, on the one hand, beginning to take things seriously, to think about life's problems, and the part they will play in the future, and to be hyper-sensitive to criticism or reproof while, on the other, they are passing through the experiences of questioning, curiosity, humility, ideals, abasement, and the desire for the social approval of the gang and the adult self-group in which they move. Adolescents, who are repressed by their elders who do not understand the peculiarities of the age, frequently compensate by day-dreaming about a rosy future, and wandering off mentally on a delightful wool-gathering expedition, and physically, by running away or playing truant.

During adolescence there is not only rapid emotional and mental development, but also great physical changes which usher the child from childhood into adulthood. He grows very fast, the contours of the body change, he acquires secondary sex characteristics, and some of the hormones which were more or less dormant till now, such as those in the genital organs, begin to function. Hence, it is a period of excessive nervous energy, disquiet, and awkwardness. To lessen these symptoms and to direct this surplus energy into good channels, it is advisable to see that adolescents get plenty of exercise (but without causing strain on the heart and lungs) from sports to "let off steam", and practise control and co-ordination. It is said that many teen-age youngsters possess the intelligence, intuition and power to reason equal to that of adults; so this would then be the right time to place good literature, works of art, music etc., into their hands for appreciation and study, for is not adolescence, more than any other period of our life, individualistic and variable, and capable of deep understanding and insight? Cox and Meade believe that to a large degree the inspiration which marks the individual as a genius is first seen during youth. Whether that is so or not, the fact still remains that adolescence is, undoubtedly, the period of artistic, mechanical, and creative efforts, as well as intense religious fervour—religious gatherings show that the leaders and most ardent enthusiasts are teen-age folk. Some readers will probably wish to say that these various enthusiasms are nothing but sublimations of the biological urge which cannot have a normal outlet for some years to come by any other socially approved method. Perhaps it is so, because several studies have shown that this creative fervour was lost in later years—in many cases. Those retaining it were of the genius class, and kept it up till the end of their days.

"With the maturation of the physiological functions of sex at adolescence, this emotion becomes a powerful drive for the motivation of the individual", and we find that, boys and girls becoming increasingly aware of

the desire to appear attractive to each other spend much time on clothes and personal appearance; the desire to participate in mixed functions, such as picnics, parties and dances, and to pair off in couples, also becomes evident. This is in direct opposition to the previous stages of childhood and pre-adolescence in which each sex was sharply segregated because of dislike and contempt for the other. However, in infancy things were again different, for boys and girls played harmoniously together without any sex consciousness. In order to make the teen-age less open to moral blunders and pitfalls, it is wise to tell him all there is to know about sex in a frank and simple way. Let him keep pets, so that he can observe them have young ones, or give him a good book on the subject, and also tell your own family doctor to have a chat with him. This is vastly better than his picking up undesirable information regarding sex on the sly and from people least fitted to give it. If he gets his knowledge in a straight-forward manner there is no need for him either to be ashamed of his sex impulses and urges, or to feel he should shun everything pertaining to it. Suppressing sex interests either through fear or shame frequently produces a warped and unhealthy attitude which is bad for him psychologically and physically. Instead, he should be allowed to indulge in the usual "puppy love" and idealistic first love affairs without feeling self-conscious or embarrassed, for he will presently outgrow it and pass on to adult love in a natural and desirable way. Not enough can be said upon the need, at this critical stage, of a normal and healthy attitude towards the relations between boys and girls, the men and women of the future.

It can be truly said that "the sincerest form of flattery is imitation". Like monkeys, we humans have this trait strongly developed, and we indulge in it from the cradle upwards. At first the imitation has little rhyme or reason to anyone but the child doing it. Later on in adolescence it is more selective—frequently stupidly slavish—and done with the desire for self-approval through obtaining the praise of others. This is the period of "hero worship" when the ideal is closely copied as to mannerisms, dress, speech and so on. Hence, it is the duty of the one so-admired to be a worthy model, and to set a good example by his own fine behaviour, for, as Burke says, "it is by imitation far more than by precept, that we learn everything; and what we learn thus, we acquire not only far more effectively, but far more pleasantly."

Since adolescence is a transitional period the conflicting drives of childhood and adulthood pull him first in one direction and then in the other; hence he usually suffers from acute insecurity. To counteract it, he does his best "to belong"—in other words, to fall in with the herd. Most youngsters at this period belong to "a gang" which is "a coalition of individuals of similar ages". What the leader ordains is faithfully carried out by his devoted

followers. The suggestibility of youth going through this phase is clearly seen from the, oftentimes crazy, fads and fashions affected by the teen-age group. "Always they must be in the mode of the moment as to clothing, sports and slang. There is almost a horror of dressing, acting, or talking differently from other boys and girls" neatly sums up the situation in Phyllis Blanchard's words. This social conformity extends to morals as well. The drive for independence is not, as some alarmed adults think, to overthrow parental authority, but to substitute the authority of his contemporaries for that of his family as well as to find satisfaction in self-expression.

Closely related to gregariousness, or the herd tendency, are altruism and loyalty, where the person subordinates his own interests to that of his gang and ardently upholds something, such as ideas, organisations, customs and so forth. In view of this, it is desirable to attach his loyalties to worth while objects by promoting the development of team games, dramas, exhibits, school magazines etc., and thus giving him useful and wholesome activities to indulge in, instead of vicious and detrimental ones. Excelling in such past-times will also bring him the recognition and applause so dear to the heart of an adolescent !

Besides all these other qualities, he also possesses the wish to own and to dominate. This is seen in such utterances of the child as "my dog", "my mother", and so on. It is also noticed in his wish and efforts to make his pets or playmates obey him by cajoling, pinching, hitting, and the like. Later, in adolescence these same drives are expressed by the wish "to try" his hand at anything, and to be elected to the debate team, honour society etc. It represents both an educative mastery, and a challenge to the ambitious student.

So far only the general problems facing the teen-age boy and girl have been dealt with. With reference to these E. D. Partridge states that "there is reason to suspect that the problems associated with adolescence are the result of the social scheme in which the adolescent lives rather than the organic changes that take place during this period. Extensive studies of adolescence in primitive societies show no such period of unadjustment as seems to be characteristic of the maturing young person in our own society. No small part of the difficulty in our own modern world is the failure to recognize the adolescent as a mature, self-sufficient individual until many years after he has reached physical maturity" by the adults around him.

II

Let us now take up the specific problems of the teen-age boy, and see how he can pass through this difficult phase of his life with as little strain as

possible if proper guidance is given. Till the age of eight or ten years the lad's mother has usually thought of him as a child dependent on her for emotional security and protection. Now, however, she suddenly realizes that he is different, and what "*the gang*" says is his final authority; he finds group games entrancing and is off on one spree or the other most of the day, while the poor, baffled mother feels like the proverbial hen which hatched ducklings!

Then five or six years later she again realizes that her son has passed through still another stage and is again different. He puts away childish toys, habits and friends, though not without calling attention to the fact. He wants adult clothes; evinces great interest in his personal appearance and the current fashions—so sadly lacking in former years—and usually tries to look attractive to the opposite sex. He also takes himself very seriously and begins to think of a future career and so forth. A couple of years later he slides into manhood with its entailing responsibilities and pleasures.

The above brief summary now needs further explanation in detail. Adolescence for boys is generally divided into three periods, namely, *early adolescence* from 8 or 10 years to about 14 years; *middle adolescence* from 14 to 17; and *later adolescence* from 17 to some point in the early twenties when he is given the status of an adult. These stages cannot be sharply divided into definite age groups because allowance must be made for individual differences.

Before a boy reaches the age of ten or so he is quite happy to play with girls as well as other lads. He is effeminate, and lacks sex consciousness, but during early and middle adolescence he shuns and despises the society of the fair sex, and "*the gang*" looms all-important in his life. Team games become very much liked, and are a good outlet for his surplus energy, for it is only at play that he is really himself. It is then that he chooses friends, and absorbs ideals which will later shape his character, for better or for worse. At this time too he is beginning to undergo physiological, mental, and emotional changes which (may continue into later adolescence) make him feel awkward, ill-at-ease, and neither "*fish nor fowl*"—this is another reason for his shunning girls' company, though he does not admit it. The outward changes are those which usher the boy into manhood—pubertal changes such as functioning of the sex glands, growth of beard and hair in the armpits and pubic area, muscular development, rapid increase in height and weight, and deepening of the voice.

While the average age for boys to complete those changes is around 15 years, yet there are great individual variations in the age at which they complete this phase in the maturing process. Some complete puberty at 12, while others do not complete it till 17. Thus it can be seen that these individual differences in the rate of reaching maturity have far-reaching effects

upon the adjustment problems of the boys concerned, especially those who are slow to mature. E. D. Partridge illustrates this clearly by saying that "a group of boys who have been associating together as friends for years, upon entering the period of adolescence, find that some of them acquire the characteristics of young manhood early while others do not. This often causes re-adjustment in friendship groups and to the boy who must wait five years to achieve the manly characteristics it is a serious problem. It is often necessary for him to reconstruct his whole conception of himself and his relations to other people. This difference in rate of development might be in part responsible for the fact that adolescents, as they grow older, tend to have fewer intimate friends. The gang tendency gives way to the "*chum design*" of friendship.

With the above in mind we can see that these rapid physical changes are also bound to bring in their wake certain social and emotional changes which will influence his behaviour to a great degree. He becomes interested in science, literature, music, and religion. Debates, dramatics and such things fascinate him and make him an ardent participant. He wishes to associate with people much older than himself, and feel that he is accepted as one of them. Adults should be careful not to hurt his sensibilities by commenting on his clumsiness, rapid growth, and see-saw voice which alternates between the bass and treble clefs, especially when the latter happens in critical situations, for it will cause him acute embarrassment and insecurity.

As he reaches later adolescence one finds that his passion for reading, games, radio, mechanics and what not has cooled considerably, while he has become much more sex conscious, and wishes to associate with girls again—if in the society in which he lives such freedom is given—though in a very different manner to that of childhood. His studies suffer, while our young man goes off to the cinema, or to parties and picnics proudly escorting the girl of his choice. Before he attains this desire for close association with the opposite kind he must be familiar with the facts of sex, reproduction, birth, its control, and so forth. Any questions asked about sex from childhood onwards should be frankly and simply answered in understandable terms suitable to his age. This will give him a good foundation and he will accept it in a matter-of-fact and natural way, and will not think of it as ugly, sinful, or shameful—to be indulged in secretly. He should be taught to look upon the marriage relationship as what it is, viz., the highest expression of love between a man and a woman, and as such, to be held in reverence and not to be abused. This sane outlook on sex will keep him from becoming frigid, promiscuous, or a pervert. He will then look forward to having a wife and children in course of time like any other normal man.

Because adolescence is a period of ideals and ambitions it is the time to instruct him in the duties of good citizenship. Let him visit slums, water-works etc., and ask him if he will volunteer to see that his neighbourhood is kept clean by advising his friends, family and relatives to keep their garbage covered and in a neat ash-can ; not to litter the streets with paper and other rubbish. Let him study what is being done in his town to prevent and check diseases, improve sanitation and the like. He will be keenly interested, for this is the period of intense and fierce loyalties and altruism, when humanity in general is lovable and worth working for. Most boys are aggressive and therefore often get into mischief, so if he has spare time, and nothing with which to occupy it, it is the most natural thing in the world for him to start a quarrel, and get some pleasure out of a physical combat.

Many parents, especially well-to-do ones, often complain "My boy will not stay at home though we have provided every imaginable comfort and article that our son could possibly desire". Is that really so ? No, it is not, because they have forgotten one important factor—the boy himself. The house is furnished with everything *they* could wish. Then having done so they mistakenly conclude that what they enjoy would make a strong appeal to the boy also, which is usually not the case. This is often due to the inability of the typical adult to put himself in the place of youth, and see things as the latter sees them. It is a pity that so few parents realize that the more elaborately the home is fitted up the less effectively will it be suited to the requirements of a teen-age boy. He hates his elegantly furnished home where he has to be careful lest something valuable be damaged. He wants a place where he has heaps of room for games, horseplay, entertaining his lively friends, and dumping his numerous odds and ends, and not a museum where one adult or the other is constantly on the watch lest anything should be damaged, and is all the time "picking on him" and "pumping him". Life becomes a misery, and he runs away from where he can play, scuffle, and have fun with people who do not care if muddy foot-prints are left on the drawing room rug, fishing tackle on the hall table and so forth.

If only these distressed parents would realize that their son needs comrades, and not disciplinarians, many problems of this kind would be solved quite easily. Be his friend; talk to him, and ask him what his interests are, and what sort of things he would like in his "den". Give him a room for his own use, and let him furnish it as he likes. Let him feel free to discuss any subject with you, and get your opinion and advice. Why cannot parents aim to be their son's ideal man or woman ? How satisfactory that would be to all three of them !

Sometimes the curiosity of the child and adolescent takes peculiar

forms—at least from the point of view of the adult. Take, for example, his teasing and hurting a dog or cat, or even his own brother, sister or play-fellow. His passion to observe their reactions will blind him to his cruelty and the pain he is causing. The boy considers it “fun”. But strange as it, may seem, he will resent plaguing practised by someone else, and will probably run to the annoyed one’s aid. He may tease and worry his own pets, but will not permit any one else to do so—this trait also shows us another phase of the boy’s nature, namely, his desire to own, to possess and to master.

Now you may well ask : How can we break him of his cruel habit ? An excellent method is by introducing co-operative games and plays, in which the oppressed one takes an essential part, thus becoming a partner in an interesting affair, rather than a slave to be ill-treated when the whim possesses his master. But if the boy is inclined to be a bully it is absolutely necessary to make him appreciate that living things have feelings like his own. You will find that he will not agree to this easily. In that case the best thing will be to give him a dose of his own medicine, though undoubtedly that is a harsh method of treatment. The parent or teacher could say to the bully : “You struck this boy with a tennis racket. You say you did it for fun. Now I will strike you in the same way, and you tell me whether it is funny or not”.

The teen-age is also the period of hero-worship, and the desire to achieve good results by excelling in various activities, so this would then be the right time to give him experiences which test his courage and endurance, besides encouraging him in feats of physical prowess and skill. Because the adolescent is sensitive and susceptible to the atmosphere around him, it is also necessary that the home life be all that is good and worth copying. The parents should be affectionate to each other and to the children ; they should show consideration and thoughtfulness, and yet be pals to the youngsters while at the same time maintaining their self-respect. Such a home will deeply influence the boy’s outlook on life, love and marriage, and help him to grow up into a fine young man with high ideals and principles—one that parents, teachers and friends can be proud of !

III

Now we may turn our attention to the specific problems that confront the teen-age girl. As a rule, the pre-adolescent changes are apt to start earlier in boys than in girls, though they are not outwardly visible. But the middle adolescent and later adolescent ones are started and completed much sooner by the female sex—at about 18 years, when we may consider them adult. Though the boys lag behind at this stage, they make up for it by sport

ing ahead later, since they continue to develop both physically and emotionally till some point in the early twenties.

The obvious changes in the adolescent girl are menstruation, increase in height and weight, general rounding of the figure, breast development and the growth of hair in the armpits and pubic area. It is often the case that girls attaining puberty are under par physically. So it is essential that they be made to rest a good deal, avoid over-strenuous exercise, and be given plenty of nourishing food, such as eggs, milk, butter and so forth, to build up resistance and avoid straining the internal organs.

In addition to the above outward signs there are others more subtle—that is, mental and emotional changes. Whereas during childhood she was ego-centric and contented with her own small world which embraced parents, siblings, home and toys, now she seeks outside contacts, and everything in general excites her curiosity, interests and fascinates her, while at the same time confusing her and making her conscious of her lack of poise and discretion. This latter makes her cling to those in authority, though if one questioned her about it she would loudly deny it, for she glories in her independence and know-it-all attitude.

During this teen-age phase she builds up idealistic dreams about sex, love, and marriage, and dreams about "Prince Charming" who will one day come and claim her; she becomes very interested in babies at this stage, and wishes to look after little ones—either her own brothers and sisters or other people's children. Teach her all there is to know about sex in a direct and straight-forward manner. Have pets in the house, and let her see how they reproduce; allow her to see other children—of both sexes—nude. This can be easily brought about at bath time or at the beach in a natural manner. Do not let it stand out as anything very important, lest she should place undue emphasis upon the nude body. Further answer all her questions about sex without hedging, postponing, or embarrassment, and give her books on the subject. Tell her that she will have very natural sex desires and urges which she should not be ashamed of, but that she will have to form her own moral code from observing her parents, friends and people in her community. Don't be surprised if your little daughter suddenly develops a violent "crush" on a film star, or "falls very much in love" with a much older man! This will gradually or suddenly wear off, and adult love will naturally take its place when she is ripe for it. That is as it should be.

Then too we find our young lady deeply interested in her clothes, appearance and grooming. Hours will be spent experimenting with cosmetics, trying new hair styles etc. She will want to dress exactly like other girls of her age, and will hate being made to wear "young-looking" clothes just be-

cause Mamma wants to keep her a baby a little longer. Let her have her own way in this small matter; for looking like one of the herd will give her a vast amount of security. If her clothes, manners and speech are a trifle ridiculous at this stage, no matter. She will soon realize it for herself and then will go in for more conservative modes, so why spoil her pleasure? But this does not mean that a mother has to keep absolutely mum about the subject; do show that you are interested in her looks and get-up, and give advice when it is asked for. Whether she accepts it or not is another matter, though the feeling that you are with her will please her and keep her happy. This is so very important at this period of her growing-up process. A little judicious praise when you think she has made a wise selection of a dress or outfit will go far in helping her to develop good "dress sense", especially if you are a person noted for always appearing exquisitely turned out!

We also find that a great deal of this effort about her looks is for the benefit of the boys whom she wishes to think her attractive. How different is this attitude of a few years previous when nothing on earth would make her look at them; the reason for it being that girls in early and mid-adolescence are way ahead of the boys of the same age in mental and emotional development whom they scathingly think of as mere children yet. She considered them "rude", "beastly", "rowdy", and unpleasant company, while her small girl friends were just everything her heart could wish for. Though she now evinces an interest in the male sex, still she has a great pal of her own kind to whom she tells all her secrets, goes off with for hours at a time during which everything under the sun has been discussed, and an opinion expressed on each subject. These things may appear tiresome to the adult, but will have to be accepted philosophically as part of this growing-up business.

At this age the girl (and the boy too) resents criticism of her friends, and her choice of them. Avoid discussing the matter or laying down prohibitions, for it will only result in clam-like withdrawal, resentment, or in hidden or open rebellion. Teen-agers usually find that if their friends supply a real and basic need their social status is of no account. (It is only as they near adulthood that class consciousness, and snobbery develops). So if parents object only on moral grounds, the girl (or boy) who has had the example of good taste, judgment, culture and breeding will formulate adequate standards of her own. Therefore, there is not much cause to worry. Now she outwardly supplements the authority of the parents for that of her pals, yet inwardly she clings desperately to home security, and wants to depend upon the strength and sureness of her parents.

This uncertainty, changeableness, and nervous tension is excellently

analysed by Florence Powdermaker and Louise Ireland Grimes. They say that "the so-called revolt of youth is the way out for many young people who feel within themselves the growth of their own powers, and at the same time an uncertainty as to their ability to cope with them. They are impatient of restraint and no matter how bumptious they may appear on the surface they really are afraid of their own lack of experience. This may often show itself in rapid changes of behaviour which may be confusing, to say the least. Within an hour the adolescent may veer from the utmost self-assertion to a clinging dependence. Young people resent the reins but are afraid that they may not get along without them, and having clung to them too long, they may cut them in a kind of desperation. In order that the girl may feel as little as possible of the pains described above, parents should so train her from childhood upwards as to enable her to assume responsibility little by little, and learn to make decisions, selections, and the like for herself. If she is thus trained for self-direction, she will not at the adolescent stage entail any qualms of uncertainty or insecurity she will be self-reliant and self-confident, and be able to fight her own battles in adulthood and control her own destiny. This end is well worth working for !

The teen-age girls are indeed hard to please. As they near maturity they become more and more discriminating in their friendships and the "set" with which they associate. They begin to form a social organization which grows ever tighter, and they harshly exclude anyone who does not "belong" to their own little group. Oft-times the security and happiness of these girls seem to depend upon their success in becoming esteemed members of some "clique" which "rates" and which is looked upon with envy and admiration by the less fortunate ones who do not belong. Thus we may say that the evolution from a large, loose social organization into small, rigid groups seems to be the usual pattern of girls' adolescent social relationships. "Therefore", says Ruth Fedder, "if the social development of the adolescent is to be facilitated provision must be made for her to take part in many and varied kinds of social activities ; she must have the advantage of growing up in an environment in which she can assimilate healthy attitudes toward her relationships with the opposite sex, and through practice achieve acceptable techniques for establishing a genuine relationship with them."

As she finds that she is liked by both sexes and accepted by them, her intense absorption in parties, personal appearance, sentimental novels and films is gradually replaced by other interests. She thinks more of her studies—which were sadly neglected for a while—and wants to be a heroine and make self-sacrifices. She may want to become a nurse, doctor or social worker, and will be keen on "sewing bees", charity fetes, welfare work, and

so on. In her desire to be of service to others she will forget "self" which for so many years came first with her. Parents and teachers should realise this and see that the home, the school, and the community provide a variety of opportunities and experiences which will enable her to explore her own abilities, aptitudes, likes and dislikes, and find her own nitch which would satisfy her and keep her contented.

Thus with the above points in mind we may then sum up in Dr. Fedder's words the basic needs of the teen-age girl as follows: "Security in her family affection, constructive attitudes and information which will enable her to understand and to deal intelligently with her own physical and emotional development, practice in using freedom and in making her own decisions, opportunities to achieve status among her own associates of both sexes, to have experiences which will enable her to build an individual pattern of behaviour which will lead to the development of a mature, integrated personality". If parents and teachers alike would only strive to understand the needs of the adolescent and meet them wisely and successfully they will make a distinct contribution to the wholesome development of youth in which lies humanity's hope of progress !

COMMUNAL DISCORD IN INDIA—A PSYCHOLOGICAL DIAGNOSIS

ANJILVEL V. MATTHEW

Every problem in human society is fundamentally a problem of human behaviour. Hindu-Muslim problem is one such. We naturally expect the disciplines which study behaviour, such as anthropology, neurology, psychiatry and psychology to contribute to a better understanding of the Hindu-Muslim discord. In this article, the writer attempts to give a psychological analysis of the problem.

Mr. Matthew is Professor of Educational Psychology in the Kolhapur Teachers' College.

THE expression *communal discord* is English, but Englishmen who have not visited India or who are not well-posted on Indian affairs through newspapers or private correspondence often find it difficult to understand what the expression means to us in India. To compare big things to small, the peculiar sense in which we use the term reminds me of the way we use the word buttermilk. To the English people, buttermilk is the liquid left over after butter has been removed from milk, while to us in India it more often means curds (after butter has been removed from it) diluted with plenty of water. To an Englishman unacquainted with India, communalism calls forth visitors of modern Russia—though the technical word for it is communism and not communalism. To an American, the word community often means the society or social group from which an institution or individual draws its (or his) strength and which forms its or his supporting social background or clientele, as, for instance, when they talk of a community-hospital or of a school as a community-centre. When we use the word community in such expressions as communal discord, communal rivalry, etc., we mean a wide social group with a particular religious denotation. It is not merely a local social organization to which we refer but the local organization as representing and forming part of a much wider whole. It is not a racial distinction that we have in mind, for in India both the Hindus and the Muslims—the two major communities—have practically the same racial features and characteristics ; there generally is more in common, for instance, between a South Indian Hindu and a South Indian Muslim, racially than there is between a Hindu or a Muslim in South India and his co-religionist in the Punjab. Nevertheless, a Muslim hailing from Tanjore in the extreme south thinks of himself as belonging to the same community as a Muslim who belongs geographically to Amritsar in the Punjab, and that he does not belong to the same community as even a non-vegetarian Hindu who lives next door to him and has the same racial features. The remark applies equally

well to the feelings of a Kashmiri Hindu towards his co-religionist in Madras. Does it then mean that the communal problem in India is a religious problem? It is difficult to say that all the difference is in religious matters, though if we were to mention only one cause as the cause of all communal trouble in India, we would have to admit that it is concerned more with religion than with anything else. Nevertheless, the fact remains that on the whole the Hindus and the Muslims in India do not oppose each other's religious practices, and that they show more religious tolerance to each other than one is inclined to suppose when one reads of Hindu-Muslim riots occurring spasmodically in different parts of India—especially those that occur on those not rare occasions when the festivities of the two religions synchronise.

The Community Sense.—What is it, from the standpoint of psychology, that makes a community or a psychological group? Following McDougall we may say that it is the sense that the members have in common that they belong together. Kinship and occupation of the same territorial area, common language, recognition of the same system of political authority, possession of the same historical background, and the fact, which we have already mentioned, of belonging to the same religious persuasion, heightens the sense of oneness among the members of the community. It is not necessary that all these factors need be present together to foster a sense of unity in the members of a community. Some of these factors may be absent in a given group of people and still it may function as a community. For instance, in little Switzerland the people speak three languages, and still they are recognized to be a single people. Both Roman Catholics and Protestants are found among devoted members of the German Reich. One essential feature of community life, whatever other characteristics may or may not be found operative, is the sense that all the members in a group possess that they belong to that particular group. In other words, they have what may briefly be called a group-consciousness.

Factors such as common rituals and common traditions heighten the community-sense of the members. Thus the Muslims have customs and traditions peculiar to themselves which give them the idea that they are a separate people, separate from all others especially from the Hindus. Their initiation-rites, their festivals and the way they celebrate them, their law of inheritance—all these mark them out as a separate people. Similarly, the Hindus have their own customs and rites in spite of the fact that they often differ from province to province and from caste to caste. The religious opinions and philosophical views of the Hindus differ so fundamentally that it is difficult at times to say what particularly the Hindu view is in regard to such matters as God, salvation and the way of attaining it. In spite of these

differences in religious and philosophical views, the Hindu customs and traditions and ritualistic rites have so much similarity throughout India that they give the Hindus the unassailable conviction that they belong together. A group is always made aware of its separateness as a group through contact with other groups. This awareness of its separateness gets plenty of scope for expression and confirmation in the wide country that is ours—so extensive and so full of different communities that each community within her boundary can never forget the fact of its uniqueness.

Group-self-consciousness is a characteristic of national life in all cases where the term nation can be rightly applied to the people of a country. This sense of national self-consciousness is here in India, though admittedly it is not as strong as it should be or as it is in those free countries which enjoy the right and the means to come into contact with other nations on a basis of equality. The contact of the group with another may be of the nature of co-operation or of rivalry; whatever it is, it must be carried on on terms of equality. When this unfettered sense of contact with other nations on a basis of equality of freedom—which equality need not be an equality of strength of all the associating groups—is experienced by any national group, it in its turn acts as a greater cementing force between the various individuals and subordinate or minor groups within the nation itself. Where this equality of freedom of contact with other nations is denied to any one nation, there is a tendency on the part of the constituent minor groups to think of themselves as supreme objects of group-life, with the natural sequence that group-self-consciousness centres mainly round one of these communities to which the individual belongs. This is what has happened in India, and today the means of self-extension that is provided by national life in other countries for its individual members is provided for most people in India only through membership of a community. One of the reasons that is given by interested parties for denying India the chance of equal contact with others in the community of nations is that Indian people are communally minded rather than nationally minded. What is ignored by advocates of this argument is that under circumstances similar to our own, citizens of countries that to-day experience national spirit as a necessary means of self-expansion and self-expression would themselves have engaged in glorifying one or the other of the minor groups and in setting up its virtues and glories as opposed to those of any other group in that country. History gives many examples of internal conflicts of this kind where opportunity was not found for a country as a whole to express itself in friendship and rivalry with other countries.

Minor Communities not Necessarily an Evil.—The existence of minor communities is not entirely an evil to be regretted as minorities serve an

important role in organized life. It has just been pointed out that in a country like India the various communities have often to do service as substitutes for a more comprehensive, better organized and more closely knit national life that is characteristic of the self-governing nations of the world. Even in entirely independent countries, minority groups have distinct contributions to make to the corporate life of nations. Members of a majority community by their more ample resources and greater numerical strength are inclined to be unmindful of the justice of the points of view of those who oppose them. Wendel Wilkie has this state of things in mind when he says in his *One World* that minorities are not only to be tolerated, but that they are most necessary in national life. Another American writer deals with the need of the existence of minority communities still more powerfully and summarizes a thoughtful chapter on the topic with the enumeration of these indispensable functions of minorities: "To bring into the open any oppression, injustice, untruth, failure or defect that the powers that be are committing or permitting or failing to perceive; to apprehend and to define new issues, especially in situations in which the majority has a strong motive for continuing the *status quo*; to bring it to pass that ideas shall be thrashed out before action is taken; to protect the ruling majority from becoming the victim of its own power; finally, being convinced where truth and right lie, to stick to the conviction through thick and thin without compromise unless right reason shows that the conviction is erroneous."¹ Truth may be one, philosophically; so too, reality. But truth and reality have different aspects in practical life, and minorities in religion, in thought, in politics and in social customs stress important facets of life which the majority community might be inclined to disregard. If these latter persist in their thoughtless disregard of the views of others, the minorities shake them out of their self-complacency or arrogance by trenchant criticism and opposition. It is good that it is so, for we cannot have progress in politics or moral ideas or intellectual enquiries or religious practices without examining afresh the view of existing majorities. Such objective appraisal might eventually lead them to abandon old standards and methods, and adopt new ones in their place. Thus the minorities have an important role to play in all social, intellectual and ethical undertakings and pursuits.

The Sense of Wrong on the Part of the Two Communities.—The majority community in most parts of India is the Hindu Community, and there is no dearth of vulnerable points in its social organization and outlook that invite attack. The most flagrant aspect of its corporate life is its caste-system. In a Hindu locality, predominantly occupied by members of one of the higher

¹ G.A. Coe: *The Motives of Men*, Ch. XXVII, p. 228.

castes, members of lower castes find it difficult to get a house on rent, though there are honourable exceptions here and there in cities. There is a definite demarcation of social and caste levels, so that members of lower castes cannot eat, much less enter into marriage relations with those of the higher castes. Sometimes lower caste people are not allowed to draw water from wells that belong to the higher castes. The fact that there are odious differences among Westerners themselves and in their relation with coloured races does not mitigate the evil of this unjust and unjustifiable exclusiveness on the part of the Hindu community.

A still worse evil is untouchability whereby members of the depressed classes are debarred from entering into equal social relations with caste-Hindus even in the discharge of their business transactions. Asoka Mehta and Achyut Patwardhan in a very ably written book on this subject quote from Afzal Haq's *Pakistan and Untouchability* :—“Musalmans of the Aryan race, Musalmans of the Sufi cult, Musalmans of the High Houses, Musalmans of good education were treated alike as untouchables of the Hindu society. You may be a pucca nationalist and a four-square Gandhite, yet you will be treated as an untouchable as soon as you announce to a Hindu that you are a Musalman. However justified the Hindus feel and however innocent they plead in their treatment of the Musalmans, in justice they cannot blame the latter if they cultivate an ill-feeling towards them.”²

What has happened is that, after the Muslim invasions of India, the Hindu Society found that it could not assimilate the invaders, i.e., found itself unable (as Mehta and Patwardhan put it) to assign them a place in the hierarchy of castes and therefore placed them outside the pale of caste, treating them as alien and untouchable. This the Hindu society has also done to others such as the Christians and the Parsees whom it could not assimilate into its social ambit.

When a minority in any way threatens or seems to threaten the integrity or importance of a majority community, the latter stands particularly alert to safeguard its position. The members of the community seem to feel individually that the safety and importance of all of them is at stake. The members feel that the community is theirs—nay, more, that the community is as it were each member in extension. They feel that they cannot be great if the community is not great and that any stigma or criticism that is attached to the community is a point against them personally. Any handicap that comes in the way of the natural expansion and development and self-assertion of the community is a hindrance to each member of the community. Each com-

² Quoted by Asoka Mehta and Achyut Patwardhan in *The Communal Triangle in India*, Ch. XI, p. 182.

munity wants to live, and life implies growth; and anything that interferes with the growth of a community is felt by one who identifies himself with it as something that interferes with his own natural freedom of life and growth. If a person or agency is found engaged in converting a member of one community into a member of a rival community, both "the deserter and the enticer" are hated and every means will be employed to prevent such casualties in future. People are found ready to give their services, their money, their spare time, nay all their life to safeguard the welfare of their community which is their individual life writ large. They are ready to spend and to be spent for the cause, to kill and to be killed.

Freud's View of Hatred.—To kill and to be killed—here is the rub! Here it is that one would direct the search-light of psychology a little more closely to the problem. A short-sighted gentleman was examined and was asked to put on glasses. After wearing the glasses, he found that the floor of his house had a number of cracks in it which he had never noticed before. This is what unfortunately psychology does with the beautiful picture I drew towards the end of the previous paragraph about the love of people for their community and their readiness to undergo any amount of sacrifice on its behalf. Freud's view that life is full of the sex urge is well-known. In the second half of his psychological career, he definitely advocated the view that along with sex there is another instinctive urge in man, the urge of aggression. Aggression means destruction, and the destructive tendency may be directed against oneself or against others. The little child loves his mother and his father; but there is more in him than love. He dislikes his mother for not giving him all that he wants and not caring for him all the time. He hates his father, according to Freud, for taking away part of the mother's time, love and attention which he wants all for himself. But the story does not end here. To hate the father means to think evil thoughts about him. And in the fancy of the little child, thought is a much more potent weapon than it is in the case of grown-up persons. In this the little child is like primitive man who believes in magic and witchcraft, who thinks that evil should befall his adversary, and for this purpose practise black arts with the picture of the enemy held strongly in imagination. When any evil overtakes the latter, the primitive man attributes it to the power of his own magic arts and the thoughts which accompanied them. This is what Freud terms the omnipotence of thought—the belief that whatever you think in your mind will come to pass. The little child is a believer in the omnipotence of thought. When he wishes evil to come on the father and some evil actually befalls him, he thinks that it is due to his own evil thought that it has happened. Even if the father does not actually suffer, the child is anxious lest some evil befalls him. The fact

is that though he hates him, he also loves him ; and he hates himself for hating his father. This ambivalence of attitude makes of the child a divided personality and, to that extent, gives him anxiety and in some cases a rather unbearable tension of feelings. He thinks that he is evil and that he deserves to be punished. If some little misfortune comes over him, he is not entirely sorry, for he has some kind of satisfaction that by his suffering he has expiated himself of the guilt of his evil thought. The Psycho-analysts believe that much of the suffering that people undergo is regarded by them as well-deserved, and that in some cases people—grown-up people as well as children—even go to the extent of seeking suffering in order that they may have the satisfaction of having paid some penalty for the evil they entertained in their minds towards others, especially towards father and mother. The tension that results as the consequence of one's evil thoughts is thus sometimes relieved by suffering such as that caused by sickness or accidents.

There is another way of finding relief from tension and that is to throw the blame that a person directs to oneself on some external agency such as a brother or a neighbour or a play-fellow or a teacher. This is known as projection in psycho-analytic literature. What is evil in me is seen also in others, and when I see it in them it is easier to grow indignant about it than when it is unfortunately located in myself. In other words, the hatred with which we hate others is often a projection of the hatred that we harbour against ourselves; and the more unhappy we are within ourselves the greater is the harshness with which we treat others in thought, word and deed. It is an extension of the old experience that we had in childhood—of hating the loved person, feeling guilty about it, and fearing the consequences that might follow this sense of guilt. The tension that follows this unhappy triad of feelings—hate, guilt and fear—is sought to be mitigated by projecting the evil that is in oneself on others. We are all citizens of the same country and as such can be expected to be friendly to others individually as well as in our capacity as members of our respective communities. The Hindus and the Muslims are really in this sense brothers to each other. But even brothers do not always love each other. Each one is acquainted with the weaknesses, follies and other evil traits in his brother or sister, and it cannot be otherwise when we live so close to each other. This is so about communities too. The Hindus know the fanaticism and bigotry of the Muslim, and the Muslims know the extreme exclusiveness and communal contempt of the Hindus. They have reason to be dissatisfied with each other, and add to this the tendency to project the cause of their own misfortune and frustration on others. The Muslims were deprived, after the Mutiny of 1857, of many of their customary professions and avocations. They were systematically denied, as Mehta

and Patwardhan have shown, Government patronage not only in the army and even in the lower ranks of civil service, but also in the enjoyment of educational facilities. The Muslims' loss was a gain to the Hindus who for a few decades flourished in the sunshine of the favour of the alien government, until it discovered that, through imbibing some of the Western spirit of freedom and love of democracy, the Hindus had the temerity to ask "for a little more" in the way of political advancement of the country. Then the policy of the British Government in India changed and it began to give special help to the Muslims in order that they may serve as a counterpoise to the Hindus. But hitherto the Muslims have not proved able and progressive enough to master the educational facilities so well as to regain the commanding position in public life which they had in the country, especially in Northern India, for a few centuries before the advent of British supremacy. They find that they have not been able to overtake the Hindus who had a start over them in the post-Mutiny days in the race for political, business and educational preferences. They project the blame on the Hindus who in their turn provide many an evidence to show that the Muslim distrust is not all misplaced. The Hindus too indulge in projection: they are politically more self-conscious regarding their subjection to an alien power, and they regard that their subjection, or at least the continuance of it, is due to the support given by the Muslims to the Government. The sense of self-dissatisfaction and frustration, and the tendency to project our misfortune on others are always present to a certain extent in all of us; and it is there in the life of communities, and therefore in the two communities we have particularly in view. (Not that there are no communal problems in regard to the life of other communities, there are. For instance, there have been troubles between Hindus and Christians in Travancore, and between Muslims and Sikhs in the Punjab; but by the nature of such factors as geographical position and numerical inferiority, they do not produce the same country-wide repercussions as the Hindu-Muslim relations). In normal times too, the manifestations of this sense of frustration and projection can be reorganized by a careful observer but it is in times of emotional upheavals such as of a communal riot that we see their full force and activity.

Jung on Upheavals in the Collective Unconscious.—But why should there be a general or collective conflagration of the inflammable stuff that is seen so commonly operative in individual life? Freud has no answer to this question. But Jung, another prominent exponent of the psychology of the unconscious, attempts to answer it. His view is often even more speculative than that of Freud, but I believe that he has given us a helpful insight into this matter of a general uprising of feelings in a community.

His point of view is that of a speculative philosopher than that of an experimental psychologist, though he himself regards his theory as the result not of speculation but of empirical experience extending over more than thirty years of helping patients suffering from various mental troubles. Both Freud and Jung give great attention to the unconscious aspect of our mind. But while to Freud the unconscious—especially as he visualised it in his early writings—is made up of those aspects of personal mental life that have been forgotten or repressed, it is to Jung the primary aspect of life, the matrix of mental life from which consciousness has been evolved in each person. This primary unconscious is not the personal mental property of any one individual, but is shared by all beings, at any rate by all human beings; and it is the source of all that is creative in life. All products of creative imagination of man is due to the surging up within the individual of the universal unconscious or the psyche. Thus individual artist, a creative poet or a prophet, though he makes himself by his responsiveness and individual efforts a fit vehicle of the unconscious to express itself, cannot take upon himself the glory of being a creator by virtue of his personal effort or will. The universal psyche is thus the real author of all superb forms of beauty in word, colour, clay or deed. What the artist does is to yield himself to the influence of the unconscious forces that surge up within him and to convey his experience in intelligible and communicable forms. This has a corollary too. If the psyche can express itself in ennobling and uplifting forms in the hands of one who can take a directive hand in the process, it can as well be a means of danger when left to express itself without the directing hand of consciousness. Jung uses two different words to express the kinds of operations here mentioned—the *anima*, the creative aspect in life made possible by the uprise of the unconscious, and the shadow, the unregulated inrush of the psyche which leads a person to express himself in irrational and impulsive ways. When a man is so angry that he may be said to be mad with rage, when one is so dejected that he is tempted to end his own life in a violent manner, when he is so bigoted and prejudiced that he blinds himself to actual facts and evidences, or when he is so passionately infatuated that he cannot distinguish between good and bad where his object of love is concerned, he is said to be under the helpless sway of his shadow. What is important for us to note in this connection is that the uprush of the psyche, the sway of the shadow, may overtake a whole community at times. This is how Jung accounts for wars, for bloody internecine conflicts, and for collective acts of irrational prejudices that are associated with such extreme political movements as Nazism and Bolshevism. The unexpected communal riots that shoot up, no one knows by whom instigated and why, in such places as Cawnpore, Lucknow and

Bombay, may be explained to a certain extent by the theory that it is as much an instance of psychosis as the manic-depressive attack to which an unfortunate individual is subjected, with this difference that while the latter is an individual psychosis the former is an instance of collective psychosis.

What Might Appear to be Sudden.—Psychosis or insanity often times appears to be sudden, but it is a tenet of modern psychiatry that, though an attack of this nature might appear unexpected, it nevertheless is the culmination of a series of incidents and attitudinal expressions that had been going on for a long stretch of time, possibly from childhood. Similarly, the collective psychoses that we call wars and communal disturbances have undoubtedly their distant and long-standing causes. We are here dealing particularly with Hindu-Muslim relations, and we can imagine how the major community wants to keep in tact the advantages of numbers and the business and political gains it has already acquired. If India is made a self-governing country to-day, the advantages will immediately go primarily to the Hindus. They know it and the Muslims know it too. The latter know how in every respect the majority community has a commanding position in the larger number of British Indian Provinces and Indian States and how, through the representatives of these political units, the Central Government itself will be a preponderant Hindu Government. They also know that during the last two hundred years, apart from the advantages they (Muslims) derived from political power when it was theirs, the Hindus have been superior to them in business, economic pursuits and other undertakings. Now, with no prospect of being able to exercise political power either in the majority of political units in India or in the Central Government as a whole, they are filled with dismay in regard to the future. The frustrations of the recent past do not seem to pass away, but appear to be set up as a model for years and years to come. This has become an abiding feature of their community life, and anything that reminds them of their weakness and helplessness is enough to start a general uprising. In other words, any small or trifling thing that might adversely affect even an ordinary member of the community might be regarded as a symbol of the helplessness of the community as a whole, and might serve as a provocation that causes a huge and destructive explosion.

Distrust creates distrust. However well-grounded the fears of a handicapped community may be, the members of the other community see in the restlessness of the former an attempt to take away from the latter accustomed rights and customary privileges or advantages. So they too take up an attitude of defence and consider that any claim put up by the former is an attempt to despoil them, and therefore use all the advantages of their superiority to keep the others down so long as it is possible. Eventually if any con-

cession is made, it is done with so poor grace that seeds of discontent are further implanted both in the majority and in the minority communities. Under these circumstances, any disgruntled individual finds it pretty easy to start wide-spread dissatisfaction and communal tension.

Leaders and the Adlerian Sense of Inferiority.—Reference has been already made to the fact that there is a sense of hate, fear and guilt in all of us. There are some, however, in whom this unhappy constellation is more prominent and active than in others, and some of these may happen to be individuals gifted with many attractive personality traits and capacity for leadership. The tendency to project on others the evil that is within is present in these leaders also ; and when once they are inclined to blame others they will be in a position to lead many of their friends and followers to believe with them that their misfortunes are caused by the ruthless selfishness and hostility of their traditional rivals, the members of the other community. Add to this, the fact that the leader might also be one of those people who have been harbouring a sense of frustration and inferiority for a long time, possibly from childhood. For instance, it is possible that he, from the time that he was a tiny tot, had to contend for his rights with his elder brother or brothers. Or he might have been the youngest child in the family whom no one took very seriously and therefore had to impress upon others day in and day out that he was worthy to be taken into account. Or it may be that he was backward in his studies and so wanted to attract attention to himself by mischievous pranks or dare-devil exploits. Again, it might have been that he was a sickly child or had some physical deformity which made him always nurse a sense of injustice within himself and wanted to square accounts with a society that might have jibed at him. Possibly he might have felt that he was an unwanted or unloved child. Any of these and other factors similar to these might have been corroding into his heart from early days, and this sense of deprivation and injustice, coupled with a sense of guilt by which he felt that he was doing wrong to others by harbouring thoughts of hatred and resentment against them, might have made him constantly unhappy. This unhappiness makes him all the more angry with others—he projects his self-hatred on the outside world. When such a man as we have described here is blessed with the gifts of leadership, there is no end to the evil he can do to others. His followers are devoted to him, and they all are enabled to deceive themselves into the fond belief that they are moved only by the most altruistic motives when they attack an outside power or agency. If it were in a free country this hostility could have been directed against a neighbouring country. But we in India cannot have the luxury of turning our hatred and bitterness on our independent political neighbours by declaring war against them. So we have to do

with the next most convenient folly and that is to turn in anger against another community whose members are fellow-subjects with us of a foreign suzerain power.

Role of Suggestion.—When a leader or influential group of prospective leaders want to influence public opinion, they have today more abundant means of doing it than ever before. The newspaper is a powerful means of propaganda, and the more the people are literate the greater is the power of the written word that is issued by interested intellectuals day by day and week by week. To keep people ignorant is not the remedy against unwholesome kinds of propaganda, for if people do not read they will be swayed by the words of leaders transmitted to them in crude and inaccurate ways. With or without education people are suggestible, and they are influenced by the views of their leaders. Today there are more schools than ever before, and very often propagandists try to capture the imagination of the young through teachers, books and direct agencies of youth leadership. The danger is still greater in those schools that are avowedly communal schools. When a whole group is influenced, it is difficult for even people of ordinary intelligence to resist the power of suggestion to keep out of the danger of catching what McDougall calls the induction of primary impulses. As for the bulk of the people, many of them do not care to think in an independent way—they are so satisfied with the thinking of those few who volunteer to think for them, or with the thinking that has been handed down through generations in the form of common-sense, which is a mixture of good sense with many accepted ideas born of ignorance and prejudice. In a way it may be said that the masses think not with their head but with their emotions, especially in those matters where their interests are supposed to be concerned. Leaders too under these circumstances tend to appeal to their feelings and emotions, and not to their reason and independent thinking.

Nor can it be claimed that even the leaders themselves always think clearly and dispassionately, and that their thinking is free of the danger of suggestibility. In India we have a special difficulty in our political and communal thinking. Our acknowledged leaders are all educated according to the English method, and English thought has entered into the texture of our political and social thinking. When we assimilate, not to say copy, the thinking of others, we not infrequently absorb also their prejudices and prejudgments. One of the most common presuppositions in England is that the Hindus and Muslims cannot agree, and the more our thinkers are affected by this prejudiced view of the possibility of Hindu-Muslim political harmony, the more they communicate this fear several-fold to their followers. When Englishmen visualize this problem, they may be very honest in thinking that

the Muslims and the Hindus are irreconcilables and temperamental incompatibles. But we in India cannot escape the conviction that, honest though most of them may be, their thinking is not unaffected by their wishing. Wishful thinking of the impossibility of Hindus and Muslims being friendly fellow-citizens of one mother-land has affected the whole outlook of English people on Indian problems, and they have communicated this view of theirs very subtly to educated Indians, and through them to all other Indians. In some cases at any rate this disbelief in the possibility of Hindu-Muslim unity is not only an unconscious feature of their wishful thinking, but has been an enunciated article of formal faith communicated with deliberate purpose to those who unfortunately are ever ready to receive such a prejudiced and one-sided view of social life in India. "Empire-builders" of the type of Mr. Beck, the first English principal of the Aligarh Muslim College, comes under this category of those who undermine the trust of the members of the two communities in each other.

Economic Factors.—It is easy to arouse people's feelings as there is a lot of unhappiness in even the best organised states and socialistic societies. This is especially the case in unhappy India where millions, even in normal times, are starved or semi-starved almost every day of their life. Where such dire economic conditions prevail, interested leaders find it easy to rouse the feelings of aggrieved multitudes. It is a matter of common observation that suffering people, especially when they are in large numbers, want to find some scapegoat on whom they can wreak their feelings of resentment and vengeance; and if it is suggested to them that machinations of some minority or of some leaders in a majority community have brought all this trouble upon them they are ready to pounce on them with all the cruelty that only an infuriated mob can perpetrate. Considering the large number of difficulties and privations that our people in India suffer from so constantly, the wonder is not that there are occasional out-bursts of a communal nature, but that there are so few of them. The tendency on the part of the mass of people to find a scapegoat for their common woes account for a small minority being often persecuted by the majority population in a city or a state. This is how the persecution of the Jews can be correctly accounted for, though the persecutors give now one reason and now another for the perpetration of their wanton cruelty. On the other hand, where the conflicting communities are of fairly equal number the joy of adventurous action is experienced by the members of the militant communities, as it often happens in a time of war. One attraction of the war to the young is that it gives them an acceptable, nay, a respectable means to escape from the realm of monotonous routine, convention and security; and in times of communal conflicts the same tendency to experience and participate in the adventurous and unusual is at the disposal of those who are

usually destined to lead the stolid life of sobriety and decorum. If in the process they suffer, they have the joy of knowing that it is for a cause that is held to be noble and heroic by their friends and compatriots.

Resumé.—The subject is so vast and interesting that it deserves fuller treatment than is possible within the scope of an article. I shall also admit that in this paper I have not even attempted to propose means of avoiding such conflicts, but it may be claimed that when the diagnosis is correctly made, treatment is at least partly suggested. Let us just recall the nature of the diagnosis that has been made in the foregoing pages. We found that "community-sense", to start with, is a psychological factor met with in all well-organised groups. Factors such as territorial, linguistic and religious uniformity and the possession of common political organisations and rituals add to and strengthen the group sense of the members of a community. Each of these factors may be important in itself, but the most important characteristic of community life is the sense of the members that they all belong together. The Hindu and Muslim communities in India, however far flung their members live in provinces and states distant from each other, have to a remarkable extent this group self-consciousness and are therefore to be regarded as psychological groups or communities in the right sense of the term.

It is easy for one sometimes to fondly hope for an entirely homogeneous community in any given territory. It is the contention of this paper that such uniformity is neither necessary nor entirely helpful in the organised social life of the people concerned. The impact of one group on another has an important role in the welfare of both communities, and as such the existence of minorities is not only not necessarily an evil, it may, on the other hand, be even regarded as something to be accepted in a welcome and cheerful manner by those who care for the many-sided growth of civilized common life.

Both the Hindu and Muslim communities have good reasons to be dissatisfied occasionally with the attitudes and points of view and historical associations of each other. The offence, however, does not lie on any one side exclusively.

Though in this article I have referred to historical and economic factors, the stress is mainly laid on another, the psychological. Psychology has much light to throw on hatred and in this it is indebted to the insight of Freud. By the very nature of our existence, we have to face many disappointments and frustrations which make us unhappy. It is difficult for any person to bear the tension of this frustration and unhappiness all within himself, and he finds it convenient to bear them to some extent when he projects his misfortunes on others. The same principle applies to groups of people or communities. We

in India have many difficulties and problems which baffle our best efforts to overcome them, and we are unhappy and would like to throw the responsibility for our troubles on others. This is what independent nations often try to do. They throw the blame of their own unhappiness, handicaps and privations on the selfishness and aggressiveness of neighbouring nations and go to war with them. India which is politically not an independent country cannot have the luxury of going to war with other peoples and nations on her own accord. Therefore the Indian communities have to be satisfied with a second-rate social folly—communal wrangles, quarrels and riots.

Jung has an explanation to offer for occasional insanities of groups of people, such as communal riots, civil wars and international conflicts. He says it is due to the upheaval of collective unconscious in the group or the nation that we have these organised and sometimes unorganised social aggressions. Adler would trace troubles of this kind to the sense of inferiority experienced by all people whether they be leaders or followers, something which had been wrangling in their minds from their childhood. Communal discords, from this standpoint, are to be regarded as the result of the sense of inferiority experienced together by thousands or millions of people.

I believe that these great psychologists have in their own way thrown light on different aspects of a complex problem. It is also to be noted that wars and communal riots often give scope for individuals to get away from the sense of security and decency which normally all individuals approve of but occasionally have a tendency to try to escape from. This aspect of the question I have not been able to develop here, nor has it been possible to do anything more than mention another most important factor—the economic. The main purpose of this paper has been to throw light on psychological factors, and I believe that very much more stress needs to be laid on this aspect of the question than is usually done when we consider the problem of communal discord in India.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

THE FOURTH CONVOCATION

ON Monday, the 10th April, the Fourth Convocation of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences was held with Sir Sorab D. Saklatwala in the chair.

The function was well attended by a large and representative body of citizens. The Director, Dr. J. M. Kumarappa, gave a brief review of the work for the years 1942-44. (A full report will be published in the September issue of the Journal.)

Sir Sorab Saklatwala, in welcoming the Convocation Speaker, Sir S. Radhakrishnan, the Vice-Chancellor of the Benares Hindu University, pointed out his important and manifold services to the cause of education. Among other things, the Chairman said :

“Sir Sarvepalli is a personality known not only in our country but in Europe and America, and he needs no special introduction to you. He has had a long and distinguished career as a Professor in the Universities of Madras, Mysore and Calcutta. Before the war, he had the honour of being appointed Spalding Professor of Eastern Religions and Ethics in the University of Oxford. He was Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University, and now presides over the destinies of the Benares Hindu University. About fourteen years ago, he was appointed Hibert Lecturer, being the second Indian accorded this honour. He has besides held the position of Upton Lecturer, Manchester College, Oxford, and Haskell Lecturer in Comparative Religion, Chicago University.

“As an interpreter of Indian thought and religion to the western world, our guest has won an enviable reputation. In this role as India’s cultural exponent, his career has been a unique success. His contribution to the cause of international amity and unity was recognized by his being invited to be a Member of the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation in 1931, and he continued to serve on that body till 1939.

“Through his lectures and numerous books, Sir Sarvepalli has built up a high tradition for analysis, imagination and scholarship. His *History of Indian Philosophy* is a notable contribution to philosophical literature. Among his popular works, *The Hindu View of Life*, *Kalki*, and *East and West in Religion* are outstanding. The secret of his notable success as an author lies perhaps in the fact that he is a profound thinker who expresses his thoughts in beautiful and forceful language. He is shrewd in his observa-

tion and penetrating in his insight. In him is a mingling of Eastern and Western thought, a harmonious synthesis of cultures.

"As a writer in English, he has won an enviable reputation. His style is marked by brevity and wit, lucidity and vigour; and even an abstruse subject assumes a glistening transparency under his powerful pen; his manner of expression is austere yet artistic, pointed and powerful, such as a few amongst our countrymen have been able to achieve. As a speaker, he is no less impressive, and of this we shall have ample evidence presently.

"These are but a few of Sir Sarvepalli's many gifts. In addition to these, his claim to address us this evening lies in the fact that he is an outstanding educationist of our country. As an educational administrator, he has achieved creditable success. Further, he is a social thinker who ever strives to extoll social values and enthrone the dignity of human personality.

"The Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work aims, in its modest way, to equip young men and women to serve those who suffer from the disadvantages and disabilities, to improve their lot and increase their happiness. Sir Sarvepalli is eminently qualified to address us on this occasion and enlighten us on the philosophy and place of social work in our changing civilization.

"We are privileged indeed to have him with us on this, the fourth, occasion on which we meet to present our students with their diploma in recognition of the two years of earnest work and fruitful experience that they have known in our midst."

After thus referring briefly to Sir Radhakrishnan's achievements and his contributions to the advancement of culture, the Chairman invited him to deliver the Convocation Address.

Sir Radhakrishnan began his Address by expressing his great appreciation of the honour the authorities of the school had done him in asking him to speak to them on the occasion of the Fourth Convocation of this School. "It is a matter," he continued, "of regret to me that I was not able to accept their invitation in previous years. Today I have an opportunity to pay my tribute of admiration to the Tatas not only for their great enterprise in the industrial life of our country, but for their wisdom with which they devote a good part of their fortune to the service of the public, of which this School is an illustration. I have addressed several Convocations of established universities without feeling much embarrassment but this function gives me a good deal of uneasiness as I am not sure about the line I should adopt in addressing young men and women who have had two years of training in methods of social work and welfare. The Neighbourhood House on one side and the Tata School on the other suggest a theme: Religion and Social Service,"

After these preliminary remarks Sir Radhakrishnan proceeded to deliver his address the full text of which is given elsewhere in this issue of the Journal.

At the close of this eloquent and inspiring Address, the Director presented the graduating students to the Chairman for the presentation of the Diploma in Social Service Administration. The names of the candidates with their theses subjects are given below :—

<i>Candidate</i>	<i>Thesis Subject</i>
Banerjee, Dr. (Miss) Gauri Rani. Saharanpur, U. P. B. A. (Hons.), Calcutta, 1936 ; M.A., Benares, 1938 ; D. Phil., Allahabad, 1943.	"A Study of Rescue Homes for Women in Bombay."
Bijapurkar, B. W. Bombay. B.A., University of Bombay, 1938 ; Dip. P. Ed., Kandivlee, 1939.	"Effects of Enforced Idleness on 100 Unemployed Industrial Workers in Bombay."
Cabinetmaker, Miss Pervin H. Bombay. B.A. (Hons.), Bombay University, 1940.	"A Case Study of 250 Recipients of Financial Aid from the Parsi Pan-chayat with Suggestions for their Treatment."
Joglekar, A. B. Rahata, Dt. Ahmednagar. B.A., Nagpur University, 1940.	"The Evolution and Working of the Nagpada Neighbourhood House."
Joshi, Mrs. K. Bombay. B.A., Nagpur University, 1933.	"A Social Case Study of 70 Destitute Girls from the B. J. Home of the Society for the Protection of Children in Western India."
Joshi, M. M. Poona. B.A. (Hons.), 1938 ; M.A., 1942 ; Bombay University.	"Life and Labour of Shoe-makers in Bombay City."
Joshi, S. P. Ahmedabad, Gujarat. B.A. (Hons.), Bombay University, 1942.	"A Socio-Economic Survey of 100 Shop Assistants in the Wholesale Cloth Trade of Bombay."
Kaikobad, N. F. Surat, Bombay Province. B.A., Bombay University, 1942.	"A Case Study of Sixty Poor Parsi Families with Suggestions for their Rehabilitation."

<i>Candidate</i>	<i>Thesis Subject</i>
Khandekar, P. R. Nagpur, C. P. B.A., 1932 ; LL.B., 1936 ; University of Nagpur.	"A Study of the Welfare Work for the Textile Workers in the Empress Mills, Nagpur."
Rangaier, Miss Lakshmi, Bangalore, Mysore State. B.A., Lucknow University, 1942.	"A Socio-economic Survey of 150 Working Class Families of the Bangalore Woollen, Cotton and Silk Mills, Limited."
Sidhu, Miss R. K. Lahore, Punjab. B.A., 1939 ; M.A., 1942 ; Punjab University.	"A Comparative Study of Parent-Child Relationships in 40 Normal Children and 40 Others with Personality and Behaviour Problems."
Zachariah, Miss C. Sylvi Nagarcovil, Travancore. B.A. (Hons.), Travancore University, 1941.	"The Beggar Problem with Special Reference to the Beggar Relief Measures of Kottayam Municipality of Travancore."

Candidates For Certificate

Corley, Miss Sophia S. Bombay.	"Life and Labour of Textile Women Workers in the Sassoon Mills, Bombay."
Taraporevala, Miss Dhun M. Bombay.	"A Critical Study of Children's Home, Chembur."

After the ceremony of granting diplomas was over, the Director announced that the Trustees had decided to change the name of the School and that it will be known hereafter as "Tata Institute of Social Sciences".

Two of the past students who had won outstanding merit were then introduced by the Director. "Miss Leela Kulkarni", he announced, "is a member of the class of '42 and is the Social Worker of the Child Guidance Clinic. She deserves our congratulations for collecting Rs. 2,300/-for the starving poor of Bengal by her untiring efforts." Then Mr. Anant Narayan of the class of '40 was introduced as the lucky winner of the much coveted Vincent Massey Scholarship. Both of them were heartily cheered by the audience.

The function terminated with a vote of thanks to the Chairman and the Speaker proposed by Dr. B. H. Mehta of the Faculty.

TATA INSTITUTE NEWS

UNVEILING of the late Dr. Titus' Portrait.—The readers of the *Indian Journal of Social Work* are, no doubt, familiar with the name of the late Dr. P. M. Titus who served the Institute as a Lecturer for three years before his premature death in November 1942. As a mark of respect to his memory, the class of '44 presented his portrait to the Institute, the unveiling ceremony of which took place on the 6th April.

Mr. M. M. Joshi, speaking on behalf of this class, referred to the very brief period which they were fortunate enough to spend with him. He recalled the keen interest which Dr. Titus showed in the different extra-curricular activities, and the knack with which he provoked interesting discussions on different subjects in the classroom. Dr. B. H. Mehta, speaking as a member of the Faculty, referred to the deep interest Dr. Titus took in the Institute and its work. He was a champion of the underprivileged and always held the ideal of service before him. Dr. Mehta hoped that the students of the late Dr. Titus would try to follow those ideals in life which he so ardently cherished.

Dr. Kumarappa then unveiled the portrait. In accepting it on behalf of the Institute, he expressed his great appreciation of the gesture of the students in presenting the portrait to preserve in memory the services of the late Dr. Titus to our School and our associations with him. Dr. Titus was simple in his habits, sincere in all that he said or did and showed genuine sympathy for the disadvantaged. He was deeply religious and influenced all those with whom he came in contact by his high idealism. His premature death has deprived the Institute of one of its most promising members, and created a gap in its life which would be very difficult to fill. Dr. Kumarappa thanked the students for this gift and hoped that the portrait would be a source of inspiration to all those who entered this Institute. In concluding he made a plea that all the students of the late Dr. Titus should endeavour to make the abiding elements of his character part and parcel of their own life.

In the Indian News Parade.—For the first time a news reel was taken of our Convocation Ceremony and was released in all the Bombay cinemas in the third week of April and in the rest of India later. It was shown under the caption "Social Science".

Farewell Dinner to the Seniors.—Rather an unusual farewell dinner was given this year to the out-going graduates by the Institute on the day following the Convocation, that is on the 11th April. The Juniors were invited to this function. But unfortunately owing to the government restrictions on food and parties, it was not possible to extend the invitation to the *alumni* resident in the City. The Entertainment Committee decided that the function

should be a "fancy dress" affair; and the students and faculty cooperated whole-heartedly in making the occasion memorable. There appeared on the scene fakirs and sadhus, Parsi priests, Marwari women, Khoja ladies, Pathans, police, peasants etc. The gathering was most colourful and picturesque. The Child Guidance Clinic was represented by a psychiatrist in clinic dress and two good looking puppies as problem children. Music and indoor games added to the gaiety of the occasion. Then came the sumptuous dinner.

In spite of all the frolic and excitement, the feeling that it was a farewell party could not be gotten over. The speeches which followed the dinner reflected the sense of sorrow which was uppermost in every one's mind at the thought of parting from each other. Mr. B. Chatterji, speaking on behalf of the Junior Class thanked the out-going graduates for their fine spirit of fellowship which they had enjoyed in their company during the year, and wished them all the best of success. Dr. Masani and Dr. Kumarappa spoke on behalf of the faculty. They exhorted the graduates as they go out into the world to aim at the best and the highest, keep disinterested service as their motive in life and to do nothing which would bring discredit to them and to the Institution. They assured them that the Institute would always be interested in their welfare and progress and invited them to look to it whenever they needed help and guidance. In bidding them farewell, they wished them the best of luck and success wherever they might happen to be.

Responding on behalf of the graduates, Mr. M. M. Joshi thanked the Junior students with whom they had spent one happy academic year for their kind words and wished them a bright career and a happy future. He thanked the members of the faculty for the instruction and guidance they had given them during the two years, and for their good wishes. He assured the faculty that the out-going graduates would always remain grateful to their *Alma Mater* and that they would do nothing that would in any way mar her fair name.

After the speeches this delightful function came to an end about midnight. Our thanks are due to Dr. (Miss) Banerjee and Mrs. Bhatt for the planning and arrangement of the dinner and to Messrs. Gore and Chatterjee for the entertainment programme. But for their pains and trouble, the function would not have been half so enjoyable.

Bombay Explosion Relief Work.—An unprecedented tragedy overtook Bombay on the 14th April when a ship containing ammunition caught fire and caused two terrific explosions in the City. The harrowing tale of the loss caused to life and property is too well-known now to need further narration. It is gratifying to note that the different Social Service Agencies promptly started relief work for the victims of the tragedy. An attempt was made by the Mayor to coordinate all these different activities along with the relief measures

adopted by the Municipality itself.

The explosion took place a few days after the closing of our Institute, and though most of our students had by then left for their respective homes, yet the few that were left did their little bit in relief work. Messrs. Chatterji, Nanavatty, Gore, and M. M. Joshi helped the evacuation officer of the Municipal Corporation in investigating the *bona fides* of the persons who applied for evacuation and recommending them in the order of urgency of relief for each individual case. Mrs. Indira Renu of our Child Guidance Clinic helped the Women's Joint Relief Committee.

Research Scholarships.—Apart from giving professional education to social workers, one of our main objects is to encourage and promote social research. As part requirement for the Diploma in Social Service Administration of the Institute, we require students to work on a research project to familiarize them with the techniques of social investigation. A student with aptitude for research finds the time too short to put out his research in a form worthy of publication. In order to encourage the student who has research ability to carry forward his social investigation under the guidance of the faculty after graduation, two Research Scholarships have been instituted, known as the Sir Dorabji Tata Research Scholarships, each of the value of Rs. 1,200 available for one year and the amount to be paid in instalments of Rs. 100 per month.

The First Tata Research Scholar.—The Trustees have awarded, on the recommendation of the faculty, one of the Sir Dorabji Tata Research Scholarships to Dr. (Miss) G. R. Banerjee for the year 1944-45. She took up for her thesis a study of "Rescue Homes for Women in Bombay." This investigation has led her to feel that such a study should be made of all rescue work carried on in India. While there are many institutions to protect women in moral danger, no attempt has yet been made to co-ordinate the work of the different private and public agencies, to attack the problem on an all-India basis and to plan a general policy of work based on scientific principles of reclamation and rehabilitation. To draw up a scheme for this purpose, it is necessary to collect complete information of the amount and nature of work done by the various agencies. With this end in view Dr. Banerjee proposes to make a survey of all rescue homes for fallen women in India. Her plan therefore includes visits to all the important cities. This is the first time an investigation of this type is undertaken on an all-India basis. We wish her the best of success in this important and useful work she has undertaken in the interest of these unfortunate women.

Dr. Moorthy's Research Tour.—There is a growing appreciation of the problems connected with labour sociology. The Government of India has already taken up for consideration a few of the urgent labour problems, and

with the meetings of the Tripartite Conference and Committees, the need for investigation and research into the human aspects of labour is being almost popularly felt. Attention has definitely shifted from the machine to the man. This situation is creating a need for a vast band of social workers equipped with the principles of labour sociology and trained in the art of their application. The demand for such workers will be greatly increased in the post-war period.

With a view to meet the demand that is sure to be made on us for competent social workers in post-war years, especially in the labour field, and also to expand the curriculum of our Institute, some additions were made last year to the faculty. Dr. Moorthy, one of the junior members, is specializing in labour problems so that in the near future studies in labour problems could be offered as a separate course. Labour welfare is one of the important labour problems. Though several industrial concerns are doing something in the way of promoting labour welfare in the different parts of India, and though there is an increasing interest in welfare work, no systematic study has yet been made of labour welfare on an all-India basis. In the interest of labour in general and of the Institute in particular, it was decided to undertake the organization of available data on labour welfare on an all India scale. This, it is hoped, would serve the double purpose of supplying our own students a comprehensive knowledge of fact and techniques of welfare work carried on in different parts of our country and in different industries, and of the distinctive aspects which have developed to meet regional requirements. Secondly, it would enable us to embody the findings of this research in an authoritative book on labour welfare which, it is hoped, would be an outstanding contribution to our knowledge of labour problems. Such a work would also be of great help to all those who are engaged in post-war planning for labour.

To this end Dr. Moorthy has been sent out on an investigation tour. His tour will cover the following industrial centres : Jamshedpur, Calcutta, Delhi, Cawnpore, Ahmedabad, Sholapur, Bangalore, Madras, Coimbatore, Cochin, Madras and Bombay. In all these places he will contact labour welfare organizers, collect first-hand information about labour welfare work and also acquaint himself with the technique of welfare work adopted in these centres. We wish Dr. Moorthy every success in this undertaking.

Graduate Fellowships for Foreign Study.—In the post-war period, private agencies, provincial governments and universities will demand high grade organizers and administrators of social services. To hold positions of responsibility and leadership, our graduates will need the advantages of foreign study. In coming years social services will become increasingly a function of the State. Each provincial government will find it necessary to have a depart-

ment of public welfare administration. Our universities are also beginning to recognize that social work is an indispensable study and should be taught along with Sociology. The Central Advisory Board of Education has already recommended that training in social service should be given in the undergraduate stage in order to stimulate an interest in social work. But universities and colleges are unable to do anything in the matter for lack of teaching personnel adequately trained in social work.

To meet such demands and to enable our own graduates to fill higher posts of responsibility in the many important fields of post-war reconstruction programmes, the Trustees have agreed to consider our own graduates with outstanding organizing capacity, mental maturity, sound health and good character for the award of foreign scholarships if recommended by the Director of the Tata Institute.

Prof. Mookerjee for America.—With the loss of Dr. (Miss) Cama and Dr. Titus, both of whom had their specialized training in America, we have been feeling the need of professors with special training in particular subjects for the expansion of our curriculum. Advanced training in social work and specialization of the kind we want are not available in India. A premier institution like ours should have an unimpeachable standing. And this can be done only by increasing the efficiency of the teaching staff. While the teaching of social work is in its infancy in India, America, with its vast resources, is taking rapid and large strides in social experiments and techniques, and has much to offer. For efficient teaching of social work, a comparative knowledge of methodologies is an essential requisite. We need to know how actually scientific social work is being carried on in progressive countries, how they are grappling with their own problems and what techniques they have evolved for their satisfactory solution. In order to enable Prof. Mookerjee to get a more specialized training along with a broader knowledge of the field of social work, the Trustees have granted him a foreign study fellowship.

Prof. Mookerjee's special subjects are psychology and statistics; in addition to testing intelligence in the Child Guidance Clinic, he has been lecturing on Psychology and Social Statistics. Very little has been done in India to apply psychology to industry. America has advanced much in this respect. In order to break new ground in this important line of work in India, Mr. Mookerjee will specialize in Industrial Psychology and study the techniques of psychological research in industries. Further, since Mr. Mookerjee is working also as Psychologist of the Clinic, he will also give special attention to studying the organization of such clinics in America and the place of the Psychologist in the American Clinic. He will leave for the United States as soon as passage is available. We wish him the best of luck.

ALUMNI CHRONICLE

Mr. S. Thomas Edward ('38), who was Labour Officer of the Khatan Makanji Mills, Bombay, has accepted the post of Labour Welfare Officer, H. M. I. Docks, Bombay.

Mr. P. S. Asant Narayan ('40), who was awarded the Vincent Massey Scholarship, sailed for Canada on the 1st June. His Canadian address is : C/o Department of Psychology, University of Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

Mr. Oherian J. Mampilly (1942) was married to Miss Mary Ollaticulum on the 17th April in Cochin. After his lucky marriage, he joined the Tata Oil Mills (Sewri) as Labour Officer on the 1st May, resigning his post as Labour Welfare Officer of the Welfare Department of the Government of Bombay.

Miss K. B. Naik ('42), the Probation Officer of the Backward Class Office, has been sent to Bombay for a few months to work as Superintendent of the Shraddhanand Anath Mahilashram.

Class of '44

Dr. (Miss) G. R. Bannerjee has the unique honour of being appointed the first Tata Research Scholar for the year 1944-45.

Mr. B. W. Bijapurkar has been appointed Inspector of Labour Welfare in Mines, Dhanbad, Bihar.

Mr. A. B. Joglekar is working as Acting Probation Officer of the Children's Aid Society, Bombay.

Mr. M. M. Joshi has been appointed Librarian and Field Work Assistant of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences.

Mr. S. P. Joshi has accepted the post of Public Relations Assistant in M. L. Dahanukar & Co., Ltd., Bombay.

Mr. N. F. Kaikobad has been appointed Superintendent of Social Work of the Zoroastrian Welfare Association, Bombay.

Miss R. K. Sidhu is a Research Scholar of the Institute of Psychiatry and Mental Hygiene, Bombay.

Miss Dhum M. Taraporevala has joined duty as Deputy Superintendent of the Children's Aid Society which deputed her to our Institute for training.

The B.B.C. is conducting a "Listeners Research" in Bombay. This is the first research of its kind in India and an elaborate questionnaire has been prepared for making a statistical investigation into the tastes and requirements of regular listeners. Some seven investigators have been appointed to interview about seven hundred listeners within eighteen days for this purpose. The selection of listeners has been so made that the selected sample will give adequate representation to the various types of listeners—listeners belonging to different religions, economic classes, age groups etc. *Misses Sophy Corley, Khorshed Motivala* and *Mr. B. Chatterji* are among the seven investigators.

ADULT EDUCATION IN HYDERABAD STATE

Adult Schools were first opened in 1926, when it was expected that private enterprise in this field would lead to a rapid progress of the movement. But, unfortunately, the expectations have not been realized and the public has not shown sufficient interest in the movement. Nor could the Education Department provide the necessary funds for its development owing to the more pressing claims of Primary and Secondary Education.

In 1938, the rules and regulations relating to Adult Education were revised and a curriculum spread over a period of 18 months with three definite stages of instruction was introduced. The Adult Schools were generally held for two hours a day in the evening. The curriculum consists mainly of the 3 R's, but it is provided that, apart from the regular courses of studies in the mother-tongue and arithmetic, lectures should frequently be organized on subjects which will be useful and interesting to adults. There is also a provision that adults who complete the course may be examined by the Inspecting Offices and be awarded literacy certificates if they succeed.

Till 1940, no recurring annual provision was made in the Budget; but in 1941, however, it was felt that the time had come for obtaining a special grant from Government for the extension of adult education. Accordingly, a proposal for an additional recurring grant of Rs. 10,000 a year was submitted to Government. Towards the end of the official year, Government was pleased to sanction this amount for one year out of the savings of the Department for 1939-40.

As the necessary data for the extension of adult education had already been collected, a scheme for the opening of Night Classes for adults in some of the Government schools on the grants-in-aid basis and for giving grants-in-aid to a few Private Adult Schools already in existence was prepared and introduced before the end of the year. An interesting feature of this scheme was the establishment for the first time of Adult Schools for women. Though the scheme was introduced in 1941, the sanctioned amount could be utilized only in 1942 owing to the sanction having been received very late in 1941. In the three years from 1941, 37 new schools thus came to be opened, and the number in October 1943 was 100 with an enrolment of 3,196 adults.

Though, in the last five years i.e., from 1939 to 1943, the number of Adult Schools has steadily increased from 52 to 100, and the number of adults brought under instruction has risen from 1,789 to 3,196, with the expenditure on adult education rising from Rs. 3,260 to Rs. 9,599, the progress which literacy has made, particularly in view of the large numbers to be tackled and the growing population, has not been of much consequence in reducing the huge percentage of illiteracy prevailing in the State. The problem con-

tinues to be a baffling one, because, on the one hand, the public interest in the movement is not in the least encouraging and, on the other, Government cannot provide adequate funds to give the movement the fillip it needs at the initial stage.

Fortunately, however, thanks to the substantial increase in the educational budget of the current financial year, it has now been made possible to increase the recurring provision on adult education by about Rs. 20,000 with effect from 1944, and a scheme for opening 34 new schools, 16 for men and 18 for women, besides reorganizing the existing schools and placing them on a stable basis has been submitted to Government for sanction. With the enforcement of this scheme, the expenditure on Adult Education will have gone up three times what it was in 1943. Even this provision is too meagre to grapple with the serious problem of illiteracy.

Till now the work of adult education was confined only to enabling the illiterate to read and write. While this had to be emphasized considering the present condition, it is felt necessary that provision should be made for supplementing the knowledge of the literate and keeping him abreast of the times, if adult education is to have any effect or permanent value. This aspect of adult education is receiving the attention of Government, and a 25-year plan for its future development alongside of the liquidation of illiteracy on a progressive scale of expenditure is under Government consideration, so that the responsibility for adult education may rest entirely with the Government and a system of adult education become ultimately a permanent feature of general education.

S. M. AZAM

*Director of Public Instruction
Hyderabad.*

SCHOOL GOES TO THE HANDICAPPED CHILD

IN Shakespeare's era, children "trudged unwillingly to school"; today in many countries they travel comfortably by bus; in ultra-modern days in America's midwest, the classroom goes to the home of the semi-invalid child by means of an intercommunication system. Operating on the same principles as a telephone or an ordinary inter-office communication arrangement, this device provides a two-way teaching plan which enables the physically handicapped child to recite by remote control. Remaining at home, the child hears the recitations carried on in the classroom, is called on to recite in his turn and is heard clearly by teacher and classmates. Three of the pupils using this system are leading their respective classes. One invalid pupil was elected president of his class.

The idea originated in the U. S. with the Department of Public Instruction at the suggestion of W. A. Winterstein, staff statistician, and the first set was installed in the Newton, Ia., schools under the supervision of Superintendent B. C. Berg in September 1939. A girl student, a high school junior, was just out of a hospital and expected to be confined to her bed or her room for the entire school year. The teaching system was installed for the girl's use, and she made such progress both scholastically and physically that she was able to return to school at the end of the semester. Public interest was definitely aroused. A telephone employee in Newton prepared a set for the use of his fifth grade daughter who suffered from a form of paralysis. Soon other young people in the Newton schools procured sets. The success of each was immeasurable, and the experiment spread to other school systems.

At present, more than seventy sets are in use, serving approximately one hundred pupils in various Iowa school districts. The installations range from a set in a one room rural school that brings instruction to a sixth grade boy, the victim of extensive burns through contact with an electric transmission line, to a city system that serves seven shut-in pupils. Forms of disability from which such pupils suffer include cardiac and pulmonary troubles, broken backs, infantile and spastic paralysis—in short, all the physical injuries with which youth may be afflicted. In most instances the service will necessarily be continued until high school graduation, but in three cases, recovery of the pupil has permitted the release of the equipment for use elsewhere.

The cost of equipment adjustments and installation has been approximately the equivalent of Rs. 130/- per pupil served. As additional pupils are provided for, the average cost decreases. The leased wires between classroom and home cost the school district Rs. 6/- a month for the first quarter mile and Rs. 2/7/0 a month for each additional quarter mile. The state reimburses the district which procures intercommunication equipment up to Rs. 162/- in any single purchase. The equipment is cared for and maintained by the district. Distance between classroom and home varies widely. Some homes served are in the block next to the school grounds; others are farther. The longest distance for such service to date is slightly more than five miles. The power to operate the device is furnished at the pupil's home, where the master station is located.

Standard equipment consists of a master station and a sub-station, both equipped with the necessary transformers for satisfactory use over a pair of continuous wires of the required length. If more than one classroom is wired, the school wires are brought to a conveniently located junction box where they can be distributed and redistributed as the need may arise. It has been found that for best results the telephone terminal should be located at the

front of the classroom. The home terminal, of course, is placed near an electric outlet in whatever room is most convenient for the pupil—probably a bedroom. Since the student may “attend” different classes by means of the electrical unit, Iowa school officials experimented and found that the classroom apparatus may be carried from room to room as occasion requires.

An appropriation equalling Rs. 48,750/- was allotted for the education of Iowa's handicapped children. A pupil who is to be provided with inter-communication equipment is selected from the home instruction group on the basis of being so situated as to derive greatest benefit from its use. Age, experience, extent and type of disability and the availability of electric service and wiring are all given consideration. The physical condition of the pupil must be certified by a competent physician, such certificate being a part of the application form. Use of the electrical teaching device is not recommended for a child not thoroughly familiar with classroom procedure, as he is unable to visualize school methods and, therefore, is not likely to obtain maximum benefit.

The aid which physically handicapped children derive from this two-way electrical teaching device reaches far beyond classroom learning. The contact with his own social group which the child gains and the valuable give and take of classroom discussion maintain his morale and eliminate any feeling of inferiority. Knowing that he is keeping up with his friends scholastically and studying diligently on lesson assignments, he has neither the time nor the inclination to brood over his physical handicap. In numerous cases, recovery is thus actually speeded up.

S. R. WINTERS (*USOWI*)

VAGRANTS HOME, CALCUTTA

DURING the past few decades stray but well-meaning interest has, from time to time, been shown by many public-spirited individuals as well as by the corporate bodies of our country. With the passage of time, that concern acquired more and more momentum till in 1920 it culminated in the appointment of the Pickford Mendicancy Enquiry Committee in Calcutta. But the recommendations of that Committee were not carried out owing to financial difficulties, and only lately legislative measures have been adopted prohibiting and penalising the act of begging. But the solution of any social problems is beset with many practical difficulties and our beggar-problem is no exception to it. It has been found now that mere prohibitory laws without adequate provision of relief is not going to solve the problem.

Of all the Provincial Governments, it is the Government of Bengal perhaps that has taken up the lead in right earnest and passed the Bengal

Vagrancy Act in September 1943 (which was given effect to even from August previous by means of an Ordinance). This Bengal Vagrancy Act not only prohibits and penalises begging but provides for feeding, housing, clothing, medically treating and educating the confined vagrants in the special Homes which have been provisionally started in the suburbs of Calcutta, pending completion of construction of the permanent Homes for the purpose at a place called Mahalandi near Berhampore in the District of Murshidabad, Bengal. This Mahalandi Scheme is quite a big one and it may take some time yet before it can be completed.

Incidentally it may be mentioned here that taking the cue from Bengal, other Provinces and States of India are contemplating following suit; as for example, Bombay and Madras are now seriously considering the launching of similar Schemes and the Mysore Government recently appointed a Commission to investigate and submit a comprehensive report about the practicability of introducing a Prohibitory Begging Act throughout the State with the necessary relief from the Government; probably other States and Provinces will also adopt measures to check beggary and, I am sure, in this way if all the progressive States and Provinces of India take up this topical problem for maintaining the down-and-outs, we shall have no difficulty in controlling the situation and thus improving the lot of our toiling public, who, I think, should also be advantageously taught in general the methods and virtues of birth-control as we have no "Libensraum" or Colony to expand. Of course, though the problem of "multiplication" of population is a side-issue in relation to our problem in question here, yet the fact remains that, that problem is bound to engage the serious and careful attention of the sagacious and thoughtful men of our country in the not distant future, when they will really mean business and set about solving our poverty problem in right earnest.

The Bengal system works in the following manner :—The police round up the vagrants from different parts and suburbs of Calcutta and bring them to the Receiving Centre (of the Control of Vagrancy Department). There a Magistrate of First Class power makes a summary enquiry regarding each person brought in and decides whether or not he lives by begging—if so, declares him a vagrant. The Superintendent of the Receiving Centre then collects these convicts and sends them on to our Homes for detention for indefinite periods and for reformation. With our present accommodation we can take care of 1,000 and we have almost reached that limit. We expect further expansion in this respect very soon.

By far the major portion of our present inmates are decrepit, cripples, lepers, nastily-ulcerated physical recks and imbeciles. Though a few of them

are apparently of sound body, they too, are invariably miserably emaciated on account of their suffering either from untreated syphilis, tuberculosis, phagedenic sores or bowel-troubles. Besides this, all the beggars are found to have lost all moral sense. The profession of begging has caused the sense of self-respect to evaporate almost entirely, leaving in them only the animal instincts and animal passions. However, against such heavy odds, honest endeavour is being made to revive their deadened sense of self-respect by encouraging and instilling in them the love of work, love of neighbours, love of cleanliness, love of methods and of discipline. How far we shall succeed in restoring the physical health and moral dignity in these ruined adult wrecks time alone will show. Probably the chance of success is very poor; but even then, it is rather premature to attempt publishing any statistics of progress or of failure just now.

But about the children who are inmates, we have a different tale to tell; we can say, even in this inchoate state of our departmental growth in relation to our ultimate aims just expressed, that the vagrant children seem to be the most hopeful population of our Homes. They are the most responsive ones in our constructive scheme. Tender age being receptive and pliable, we expect to reform them by awakening in them their self-respect and courage of conviction and by helping them to cultivate their love for work, discipline, cleanliness etc. In the Vagrants Home for children arrangements are being made for their all-round education. Similarly, for women and girl vagrants, we are thinking of introducing teaching of small and simple cottage industries besides the general moral training in the above-mentioned line.

As to the length of the period of their detention, I may mention, that we keep each of them under our control as long as we are not satisfied that he/she has got sufficient means of maintenance or he/she is reformed or properly educated for some useful and honourable profession in the body-politic of our social frame-work.

AMORENDRA SAHA

Manager, Vagrants Home (Govt. of Bengal)

INDUSTRIALISATION RETARDED BY BRITISH POLICY

THE following is the full text of the speech of Mr. Mulherkar, Adviser to the Indian Employers' Delegate to the 26th I. L. Conference, in the course of the debate on the Director's Report to the Conference, presented by Mr. E. J. Phelan :

"I have carefully gone into the Director's Report and particularly the portion dealing with India in the chapter relating to economic background. I have also seen the reference in the Report on Item I re. wartime developments

in India, and I am rather disappointed at the picture drawn about the impact of war on India's economy. Some important features are missing in that sketch, and a true and full picture is not presented to the Conference.

"For instance, both in the Director's Report, and in the Report on Item I, a reference is made to the progress of expansion in India's iron and steel and textile production, and to the establishment of non-ferrous metals, drugs and chemical industries. It does not, however, deal with the effect of the British Government's war economy on India's industrial development, with particular reference to the establishment of key and defence industries for the manufacture of automobiles, aeroplanes, heavy chemicals, power alcohol and construction of ships. Since we are all anxious that every possible effort should be made from now on to ensure a high level of employment in the post-war period, you will be surprised to know that the British Government's war economy has discouraged every initiative from Indian industrialists to put up modern industrial plants, to manufacture all types of industrial products. You will see from the Director's Report that it was made possible for my neighbouring country, Australia, to establish such plants enabling manufacture of two-engined bombers, ten-thousand ton merchant ships, and power alcohol, while India, in spite of all resources in men, money and material, was denied that opportunity of manufacturing these supplies, which, I am sure, would have further helped the United Nations' war effort. I think that the Report would not be complete without specific reference to the effect of the British Government's war economy on India's industrial development.

"Similarly, I do not find any reference to the incorporation of the U. K. Commercial Corporation, which is a purely British Treasury concern, but the activities of which have resulted in very grave and serious repercussions on India's ability to create new export channels in neighbouring countries. It is a fact that private enterprise and initiative in the import trade, as far as India is concerned, have come to a standstill.

"The situation is further aggravated by the introduction of certain financial controls by the British Government under their Dollar Requisition Order, under which the whole of India's dollar credits accruing to her as a result of her trade with the United States of America are put in the Empire Dollar Pool for the benefit of the Empire countries. I must say here that India has been a substantial contributor to that Pool. It is, however, some consolation that the American manufacturers, realising the danger of such a financial policy, have protested against the non-utilisation of these credits for the furtherance of greater trade with India. We have also been protesting for the last four years against this through the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry. As a result of those protests, "His Majesty's

Government have now agreed to set aside from this year onward a part of the dollars accruing to India from her exports to the United States of America". I am sorry to find no reference made in the Report to these very important factors which have been agitating the public mind of India, and I therefore wish to bring this fact to the notice of the Conference.

"With regard to the observations in the Report regarding inflation, very interesting figures are given re. increase in note circulation in various countries. The increase between the period of the declaration of the war and December 1948 is :

U.K.	. . . . .	105	per cent.
U.S.A.	. . . . .	188	„ „
Canada	. . . . .	221	„ „
Australia	. . . . .	231	„ „
South Africa	. . . . .	83	„ „
New Zealand	. . . . .	120	„ „

but in India there has been an extraordinary expansion rising to about 400 per cent. I am sure if the British Government allow export of capital goods to India, now that the shipping position has improved, there would be a setback to a further increase in the notes in circulation, and much of the finance which is at present responsible for inflation to a certain extent would be sterilised to the benefit of the country.

"It has been stated here that Indian employers have been charging high prices for manufactured goods in India. I may inform the House that the industrial manufacturers never opposed any Government initiative in controlling prices ; in fact, in respect of all supplies to Allied Nations and to the Government of India, prices are controlled. Jute, mica, tea, textiles, cement, paper, iron and steel and sugar, all these articles are supplied for war purposes under controlled prices on the basis of 10-12 per cent. profit. The Government of India have set up an elaborate machinery to check up the cost of production to the manufacturer and the return on the capital engaged. These prices are periodically revised and lower or higher levels are determined on the basis of new factors. I can say with confidence that Indian manufacturers never recorded a protest against Government action in controlling prices.

"I fully endorse the suggestion made by my colleague representing the Government of India that the Asiatic section of the I.L.O. Secretariat should be further strengthened. I go further and suggest that an Asiatic should be appointed to the newly proposed post of Assistant Director so that Asiatic questions may be examined in their true perspective."

BOOK REVIEWS

The Aborigines—"So-called"—And Their Future. By G. S. GHURYE, PH. D., Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Publication No. 11, Poona 1943, Price Rs. 8 or 16 sh., XV + 232 pages.

The recognition of an aboriginal problem in India is gradually gaining ground; not yet, it is true, by a large section of the politically conscious public, but at least among a widening circle of administrators, social workers and intellectuals. Protection for the aboriginals is so urgent and the amount of reliable information on the interaction of cultures compares so poorly with the vast volume of literature on similar acculturation-problems in Africa and Oceania, that a comprehensive book on the position of India's tribal populations would answer a long felt need. From a sociologist of Professor Ghurye's reputation one would have expected a contribution of weight and originality, but the book under review falls decidedly short of such expectations. As a compilation of opinions and theories on the policy *vis-a-vis* the aboriginals it may be of value to the layman and the politician, but there is no serious attempt to analyse in detail the complex problems of culture-contacts, problems which in other parts of the world have attracted the sustained attention of numerous eminent sociologists.

Professor Ghurye begins by explaining why he refers to the primitive tribal populations as "so-called" Aborigines, a term which when used again and again on 232 pages becomes somewhat tedious. He maintains that some of the "so-called" aborigines may have entered, and indeed probably did enter, India from outside and that therefore they cannot be classed as autochthonous populations. Quite apart from the fact that most, if not all, of these primitive tribes have lived in India since the stone-age, and some no doubt since glacial times, it is strange that Dr. Ghurye, though scorning the terms 'aborigines' and 'aboriginals', cannot do without them and, in order to make it clear to whom he is referring, resorts to the clumsy label "so-called" aboriginals. After a superficial discussion of India's racial structure he concludes his first chapter with the sentence: "The so-called Animists and Aborigines are best described as Backward Hindus." Yet, he contradicts himself a few pages later in writing: "Some of the tribes had kept their independence till the beginning of the British rule in India to such an extent that they defied the Hindus of the plains till the British arms brought them under control and opened their country to partial Hindu influence."

In the second and third chapter the author puts forward the theory that there is no essential difference between aborigines and Hindus. His reading

in the field of comparative history of religion is obviously not up-to-date and he supports the old fashioned view that all higher and ethical ideas in primitive religion must be due to outside influences. In quoting many older as well as recent views on the effect which the contact with Hinduism has had on the aborigines he again fails to see that most of those quotations refute instead of support his theory. For, if it was *contact* with Hindus, in many cases a contact of not more than a few decades' standing, which brought about the aborigines' *adoption* of Hindu customs, then it is only logical to conclude that they are not Hindus, but a population *sui generis*. If we call them backward Hindus, we might refer equally to the Mexican Indians as backward Spaniards, because they have learnt to speak Spanish, have become Roman Catholics and dress largely in western fashion.

Professor Ghurye makes light of the disruption of tribal culture and social equilibrium, the moral depression and the loss of ancient arts and crafts, which result so often from the aborigines' sudden contact with outsiders, be they Hindus, Muslims or Christian missionaries. He takes great pains to prove that contact with Hindus of any caste, class or vocation is for the aboriginal invariably a blessing; indeed he deplores that the aborigines have received "not as much as one would have liked" of the "valuable leaver" provided by Hinduism. In his attitude to many aspects of tribal culture he reveals a spirit reminiscent of the early puritan's scorn of "the horrid habits of the heathen." From the author of *Caste and Race in India*, one would have expected a certain discernment in the choice of sources, but there is no District Gazetteer or official report too old or too obscure not to be quoted in proof of the aborigines' depravity. One finds such sweeping statements as: "Aboriginal dancing, as already pointed out, has sensual associations. It provides the sexes with an opportunity for illicit intercourse," quoted from the *District Gazetteer of the Santal Parganas*. He considers it likely that "as the Hinduized tribalists begin to approach the standard of purity of the higher Hindu castes.....they may drop their dancing." Those who appreciate aboriginal dancing he consoles with the remark that among the Hinduized aborigines "the Gonds prohibited only mixed singing and dancing which, according to them, had some tinge of immorality and the Hos forbade the dance only to their women." I wonder whether Dr. Ghurye realizes what a wealth of poetry and beauty perishes with the relinquishment of singing and dancing, whether he knows that for many aborigines, such as the Gonds, the composition of songs is almost the only creative artistic work. He is obviously a stranger to the India of the villages and particularly to those backward tracts where the aborigines are subjected to the influence of Hindus, if he seriously thinks that "the general interest in folk-culture" and the fact that "folk-

dance bids fair to be re-instated to a position both as art of expression as well as a healthy physical activity" (I suppose without sensual associations!) will prevent the prohibition of tribal dances by the hinduized tribalists. Uday Shankar and some brave bands of enthusiasts for a revival of Indian dancing enjoy no doubt the support of an elite of urban intellectuals, but long before their call can reach the remote villages and townlets of C. P., Orissa and Bihar tribal dancing will have died if the aboriginals' half forced and half voluntary compliance with the ideals of rural Hindu society is not counteracted by positive encouragement of their traditional arts.

The same remoteness from the actualities of the rural scene is reflected in Professor Ghurye's view of untouchability. He believes that there is little danger that aboriginals may be regarded as untouchables or learn to practise untouchability, because "the atmosphere is too much charged with anti-untouchability for any new classes to be treated as untouchables." This is a pious wish and finds no confirmation in reality. The atmosphere in the villages of the backward tracts is not charged with any of the modern creeds that dominate political India and I know many aboriginals who suffer the disabilities of untouchables and not a few who have learnt themselves to treat certain other tribal groups as untouchables. While Professor Ghurye ignores the fact that many aboriginals and particularly those who eat beef and sacrifice cows are today classed among the lowest classes of Hindu society, he minimises the dangers of the introduction of child marriage into aboriginal society and comes to the conclusion "that it is not such an evil as it is supposed to be, if practised by the so-called aboriginals, or that it is at least not an un-mixed evil." Similarly, he sees no wrong in the compulsory unpaid labour of aboriginal tenants, and expresses the fear that its abolition might be unfair on the landlords.

It is impossible to enumerate all the misrepresentations of facts and errors contained in this book; the author's remarks on tribal religion evince, for instance, a lamentable unfamiliarity with even the more elementary matters of Indian anthropology. The most useful chapters are those on "So-called Aborigines and Indian Government" and "So-called Aborigines and British Parliament." These are a readable and fair abstract of the writings and speeches of politicians and administrators on the aboriginal problem and the legislation aimed at protecting the aboriginals from exploitation and loss of land.

In the final chapter the author groups the problems of the aboriginals under two categories; "the first category is formed by those problems which, like those of new habits, language and shifting cultivation, are peculiar to them", and those which arose from the application of new systems of law

and revenue, the loss of land and the rapacity of money-lenders, problems which they share with other classes. Compared to these the problems of the first category "may be regarded as minor ills." This view contains the quintessence of Professor Ghurye's theories. The loss of language, religion and ancient institutions, of arts and crafts and of the freedom to cultivate in the traditional manner, are to him only minor ills, and he fails to recognize the value of cultures matured through centuries into a harmonious, organic whole, satisfying the spiritual, social and aesthetic needs of a people. The tribal languages are in his view doomed and indeed not worthy of preservation: if they have to be used in schools, they should be regarded only as a means to an end, the end being the spread of literacy and the learning of a more highly developed Indo-Aryan language, destined ultimately to supersede the tribal tongue. Administrators and social workers with first hand experience of tribal languages think differently; while conducting an Education Scheme among the Gonds of Hyderabad, I learnt to admire the wealth of oral literature in Gondi and I feel that its recording and publication, not in a complicated phonetic transcription for the benefit of scholars, but in simple Devanagari characters for the Gonds' own use is an aim in itself, an aim no less important than the subsequent impartment of Marathi and Hindustani through the medium of a script learnt in writing the mother tongue. In a recent number of this Journal (Vol IV, p. 371) B. H. Mehta paid tribute to the language-policy of Soviet Russia, where tribal languages and tribal cultures are encouraged and valued. I see no reason why a similar policy could not be successfully followed in India. But Professor Ghurye's idea that all tribal cultures must give way before the civilizations and written languages of numerically, politically and economically stronger populations savours of the policy followed in Europe by National Socialist Germany under the guise of a grand continental unification. It is only a difference in degree between denying the right to cultural individuality to small European nations or minorities, or to tribes of several lakhs or even two or three millions, tribes which in race, language, religion and cultural heritage differ from adjoining progressive populations far more than any European nation from its neighbours.

Professor Ghurye criticizes every effort that has hitherto been made for the benefit of the aboriginals, but he offers no concrete alternative; indeed he comes to the conclusion that *there is no real aboriginal problem*, the problems of the aboriginals being in his view practically identical with those of the depressed classes and those of the non-aboriginal agriculturists. He has no vision of any but the material grievances of the aboriginal and ignores and belittles the social, cultural and psychological ill-effects of unregulated contact between aboriginals and economically stronger populations which

exploit the tribesmen and despise their customs and institutions.

His under-estimation of aboriginal cultures is akin to the depreciative attitude which many Europeans of the last century maintained towards Indian culture, an attitude sprung largely from ignorance. Dr. Ghurye's views too reflect unfamiliarity with tribal life; his book contains no passage which betrays any personal knowledge of aboriginals, not one page where the string of quotations is broken by an opinion based on first hand experience. Had it been written as a doctor's thesis, say in Zurich or Toronto, one would understand its distance; but it was written in India and one cannot help wondering why the author did not seek closer contact with the object of his study. Yet published in a distinguished series and bearing the name of a distinguished member of Bombay University it will no doubt be read by many—with enthusiastic approval by politicians, with incredulity by scholars, and with regret by those anxious about the fate of India's twenty-five million aboriginals.

—C. VON FURER-HAIMENDORF

Socialism Reconsidered. M. R. MASANI. Padma Publications Ltd., Bombay 1944. Pp. 55. Rs. 1/-.

The book under review is one of the most interesting ones which have recently appeared on Socialism and Soviet Russia. The author of the book is the well known Socialist, M. R. Masani, who has visited Russia twice, once in 1927 and for the second time in 1935. In an outspoken manner the writer confesses to a sense of disillusionment at the failure of democratic ideologies and experiments in a country which promised 25 years ago economic and political paradise to exploited men.

From his first visit Mr. Masani came back exhilarated and enthusiastic. Everywhere in Russia he witnessed "tremendous zeal in building the socialist society, with unbounded hope for the morrow". But Mr. Masani's second visit to Russia in 1935 worried and puzzled him very much, for he found all the good work he had witnessed before undone. Stalin had entrenched himself as the sole dictator. The ruthless G. P. U. (Secret Police) were vigilant and omnipresent. Iron discipline cast its awful shadow in schools. Gone was the short enjoyed freedom of the woman: She was again being pushed into the parlour and the bedroom by specious arguments, advertisements and enactments. Stalin was fortifying his position by bulwarks of propaganda and occasional blood-baths. Inequality of income and position had appeared again in the factories. A class of citizens were springing up who invested their money in State Bonds to an unlimited extent. Industries were still owned by the State, but these were actually being controlled and managed by the new "share-holders" who are today very powerful in Soviet Russia.

Russia has now gone whole hog in her reactionary career. By liquidating recently the Communist International she has jettisoned her basic ideology. Nay, she has now become aggressively and offensively nationalistic at the cost of some of the autonomous Republics of the Union. As Mr. Masani rightly observes: "When a great military power turns nationalist, it finds it impossible not to turn imperialist also". And this truth is evidenced in Russia's rapidly changing attitudes towards, and relations with Germany, America, England and Poland. Russia has now ended by becoming practically an absolutist power at home killing the liberty of the individual, and imperialist in her foreign policy looking on nations with greed and selfishness. "The wheel has in many ways turned full circle, until the flavour of Russian policy becomes more and more reminiscent of the days of the Tsar."

Disturbed by this utter failure of the socialist experiment in Russia, Mr. Masani has pondered over the four fundamental Marxian premises and come to the conclusion that "it is not necessary for a State to be either capitalist or socialist" but that a third variety of State (the managerial State) is not only possible but is already coming into existence in Russia. The Marxian assumptions he combats are: (1) that the abolition of private property and its nationalization will automatically bring in economic democracy and a classless society. Mr. Masani argues that in a nationalized State merely production may be socialized and not distribution. (2) Dictatorship of the Proletariat is a possible and indeed a necessary transition stage to Socialism. The author shows that this is an unsound view and points out that "power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely". (3) Socialism can be achieved by appealing to the collective selfishness of the working class and its collective hatred of the property-owning classes. Against this Mr. Masani holds that "the appeal to the collective selfishness of the workers leads quite as often to their becoming a party to exploitation and injustice" as has happened in the case of the British working class who unconsciously share in the profits of the Empire. (4) Socialism is the only alternative to capitalism. The author argues, as stated above, that a third type of state, the managerial State, as equally bad as, if not worse than, the imperialist State may come into existence.

Mr. Masani rightly ridicules and warns the Indian communists of their past failures and future dangers. Our communists would do well to take the author's criticism sympathetically and without provocation. What is the way out of this tragedy? So far as India is concerned, the author says that the Gandhian way of non-violent resistance in all its ethical connotation, and trusteeship of property in all its legal significance is the only possible way. The book is written in an interesting style and abounds with apt citations.

M. V. MOORTHY

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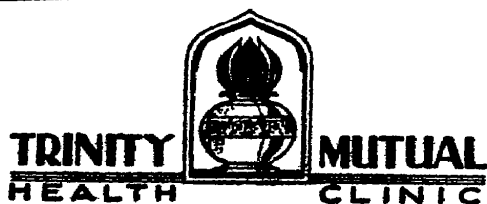
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A PSYCHIATRIC SOCIAL CASE RECORD FROM THE CHILD GUIDANCE CLINIC
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Aboriginal Education in Hyderabad	Christopher von Furer-Haimendorf	1
Crime and the Criminal	P. K. Tarapore	1
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Economics of Non-Violence	V. L. Mehta	1
Preparing for Leadership	B. H. Mehta	1
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Tata Institute Notes		1
Appendix		1



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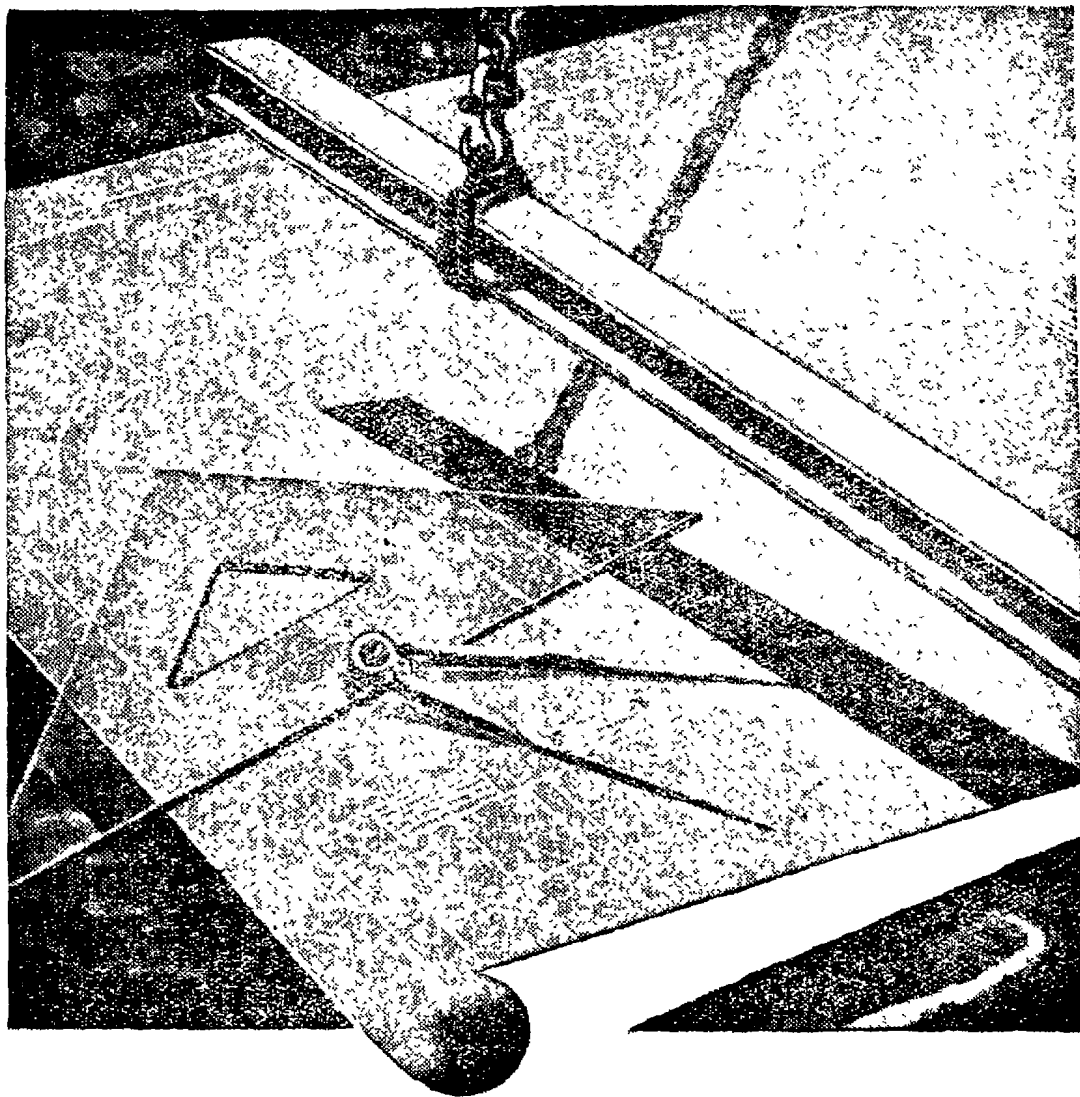
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THE INDIAN JOURNAL OF SOCIAL WORK

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CONTENTS FOR SEPTEMBER 1944

Number 2

Aboriginal Education in Hyderabad	<i>Christopher von Furer-Haimendorf</i>	97
Crime and the Criminal	<i>P. K. Tareapore</i>	107
Research in Physical Education in India	<i>F. Weber</i>	114
Economics of Non-Violence	<i>V. L. Mehta</i>	120
Preparing for Leadership	<i>G. H. Mehta</i>	128
Agrestic Serfdom in Northern India	<i>A. M. Lorenzo</i>	134
Tata Institute Notes :		
<i>Report of the Director for the Academic Years 1942-44.</i>		142
<i>Our New Students</i>		149
Appendix :		
<i>Child Guidance Clinic—Statistical Report of Cases</i>		150
<i>Illustrative Cases</i>		151

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Aboriginal Education in Hyderabad

CHRISTOPH VON FURER-HAIMENDORF

WHEN in 1941 I began studying the aboriginal tribes in the hill tracts between the Godavari and Penganga River, in the Adilabad District of H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions, I soon shared the fate of all anthropologists working in Peninsular India: problems of administration, economic development, land-alienation and the exploitation of aboriginals by more advanced populations overshadowed the purely ethnological aspects of my investigations and the mere task of recording soon seemed a singularly inadequate answer to the obvious and urgent needs of the tribesmen. However, without an intimate knowledge of the people, their customs and the historical background, it would have been unwise to attempt any improvement and it was not until 1943, when my anthropological investigations were far progressed, that constructive work could begin.

The Adilabad District consists of an elongated highland rising sharply from the Godavari valley to just over 2,000 feet above sea-level and falling in rolling, wooded hills and pleasant open valleys to the wide plains where the winding course of the Penganga separates Hyderabad from the Central Provinces and Berar. This highland with its great stretches of unbroken forest has among the more urban minded Hyderabadis the reputation of "wildness and inaccessibility" and I have indeed been to villages which have not been visited by any official for at least a generation. But to those who know the tribal areas of Assam or even Orissa it appears rather tame, a charming friendly country of undulating fields set between ridges clothed in light, deciduous forest, inhabited by gentle and pleasant folks. There is nothing 'wild' in Adilabad hills except some herds of bison, leading an inconspicuous existence in the denser parts of the forests, and many tigers, too many

certainly for the comfort of the villagers or the safety of their cattle.

In the hills Gonds, a few Kolams and Naikpods form the main population, but in the surrounding plains new-comers of Maratha, Telugu and Lambara stock have during the last decades occupied large tracts, ousting many Gonds from their ancestral lands. For centuries Gond Rajas had reigned over the fair lands known as Goudwana; with anachronistic racial ideas and religious toleration they had welcomed in their realms settlers of all beliefs and walks of life, and so it was that when the Gond states collapsed before the onslaughts of Mogul and later Maratha armies, the Gonds, now no longer the ruling race, found to their chagrin that the alien settlers in their midst, quick to turn the situation to their own purposes, usurped most of the land.

It was only in hill tracts with poor communications that the Gonds succeeded in maintaining their position. In Adilabad a feudal system survived until the end of the last century, when the Government began to tighten the reins of administration and, following the policy of raising the revenue of the district, encouraged the influx of new settlers, opened up the plains by building roads and gave the new comers land on easy terms. Ignorant of the laws of the State, in many cases of the language both of the administration and the newcomers, and unfamiliar with revenue procedure, many Gonds lost then their holdings to immigrant cultivators and whole Gond villages fell into the hands of absentee landlords. Gond prosperity and Gond culture began to decline, and ever since the aboriginals have been fighting a losing battle for their rights. The rapaciousness of non-aboriginal land-owners, the influx of land-hungry immigrants from every surrounding district, the reservation of forests and the

machinery of law courts far too complicated for the simple-minded aboriginal—all combined to deprive them of most of their ancestral land. In 1941 I found the Gonds economically exploited and socially oppressed, many leading a precarious existence as tenants and agricultural labourers where their forefathers had lived as free peasants. Only in the interior of the hills, tracts less attractive to outsiders, did Gond culture still flourish; only there had the people retained some of their independent, upright spirit, some of the natural gaiety and artistic feeling that finds expression in their dance and song. But even these highlands were no safe refuge; year by year the advanced populations of the plains would thrust deeper into the valleys, year by year more land would be wrested from the Gonds.

It was evident that the deterioration of the Gonds' position had so far advanced that the administrative measures alone, such as the Act forbidding the alienation of aboriginal land, could have little lasting effect unless the Gonds themselves were enabled to safeguard their own interests. Education could fortify their self-reliance which is so important an element in the struggle for existence; education not only in literacy but in the laws of the State.

But what were the educational facilities open to the Gonds? Those in the hills lived several days' journey from any Government school, and in those few schools within reach of Gond villages the medium of instruction was Marathi or Urdu, languages of which not one out of ten Gond children had any knowledge. It is therefore not surprising that the percentage of literacy among the Gonds was very low, and in this respect they did not differ from the other aboriginals of Hyderabad. In 1941 there were among 678,149 tribals only 4,486 or about six per mille literates, and since the 'tribals' include Lambaras some sections of whom are fairly progressive, the figure for such aboriginal tribes as Gonds or Koyas was no doubt far lower.

Education for Gonds had thus to start from scratch. Improvement of their economic and social position had obviously to be the main aim, but a literacy that divorces the tribesmen from their own cultural heritage can be a doubtful blessing. Among many primitive races school education has disrupted tribal life by causing a conflict between progressive and conservative elements. This had to be avoided, and I argued that, if in higher civilizations writing was the supreme means of expression, it might surely be harnessed to the revival of Gond culture. Education was not to be the imposition of an alien system on tribal life; it was to be firmly anchored in Gond tradition to draw its inspiration from the deep wells of Gond culture.

To achieve this aim two conditions had to be fulfilled: the first, educational steps must be in Gondi, and the teachers must be Gonds. At first sight both conditions seemed equally difficult to fulfil. The Gondi spoken in Hyderabad had never been reduced to writing, and even the related dialects of the Central Provinces were not written languages. True, there existed a few word-lists, Trench's good grammar of Betul Gondi,¹ and a small Gondi Manual of the Chanda dialect by S. B. Patwardhan²; but these were in Roman script, written for the foreign student, and not for Gonds. Similarly, among the few literate Gonds there was none who could teach Gondi writing and reading. So we had to create our own Gondi literature and train our own Gond teachers. Here my anthropological work came in most usefully. The Gonds of Adilabad are rich in myths and historical epics that have been preserved through the centuries by the Pardhans, their hereditary bards, and I had already collected a sufficient number to realize the potentialities of this oral literature which was familiar and fascinating to every Gond. Here obviously was the raw material

¹ C. G. Chevenix Trench, *Grammar of Gondi*, Madras, 1919.

² *First Gondi Manual*, London 1936.

for our Gondi books both for school children and adults, books which could appeal to the newly literate whose horizon was still bounded by the limits of his own culture. With such books in good and often highly poetic Gondi, he could practise reading until the day when he would be sufficiently advanced to switch over to another language and new, unfamiliar subjects.

The great question was in what script should Gondi be recorded? As a Dravidian tongue it could, no doubt, be adequately written in Telugu characters, but many objected to the use of the Telugu script. It is one of the most complicated of Indian scripts, and only the small number of Gonds under Telugu influence would have derived any practical advantage from its study, and no Gond outside Hyderabad could have read the new Gondi books. Roman script, on the other hand, though easy to learn, would have been useless in Hyderabad where it is not employed in official documents. The choice lay thus between the Persian script of the official Urdu, and the Nagari script of Marathi, the most prominent language in Adilabad District and the one most in use for the keeping of village-records. Persian script is not only far more difficult than Nagari, but owing to the dearth of vowels is rather ill-suited to phonetical transcription; my choice fell therefore on Nagari, whose characters can render nearly all the sounds occurring in Gondi. By excluding all combined letters, unnecessary in a language with no traditional orthography, I further simplified Nagari, and 32 letters proved sufficient for a clear and unequivocal transliteration of every Gondi text.

Now we had to secure Gond teachers. In a village, high up in the hills where Gond culture is still vigorously alive, I planned to establish a Training Centre for Gonds who, after a period of instruction, were to return to their own villages there to open schools. H. E. H. the Nizam's Government sanctioned the scheme and work began in May

1943 on an experimental scale. I was fortunate to find an enthusiastic collaborator in Mr. S. B. Jogalekar, a young Marathi high-school teacher, who was to help in the composition of Gondi books and teach Gond students Marathi, elementary Urdu, Arithmetic and general subjects. We knew, of course, no Gondi, but this we hoped to learn from our students.

Marlavai, the village where I had lived for more than a year lies in the very heart of the Gond country, two days' journey from any motor-road and a day's journey from the nearest post-office. We started with a small nucleus of five young Gonds, who had at least some idea of reading and writing. I offered them a monthly retaining fee as long as their training lasted, and a teacher's post in their own village as soon as they proved capable of teaching children to read and write in Gondi and Marathi; their qualifications ranged from a fair fluency in Marathi and some familiarity with Urdu to most elementary knowledge of the Nagari script; indeed, one of the young men could hardly be described as literate. But they were all keen on the work and fondly imagined that in a very short time they would be competent teachers.

I too hoped for quick results, for what Gonds needed was immediate help and encouragement, if nothing concrete, at least moral support. A long-term policy, based only on the teaching of children seemed too slow. It was the adults and half-grown boys whom we wanted to interest in literacy. Laubach's method lucidly explained in his book *Toward a Literate World*³ seemed the obvious approach and we started at once with the composition of Reading Charts for Adults. Helped by simple pictures the adult student is taught by these charts to read a number of key-words, containing consonants in their various vowel combinations. Our first line comprised the words *kakar* (crow), *kis* (fire), *kurs* (antelope), *kerā* (jungle) and *kor* (fowl), demonstrating the

³ New York, 1938.

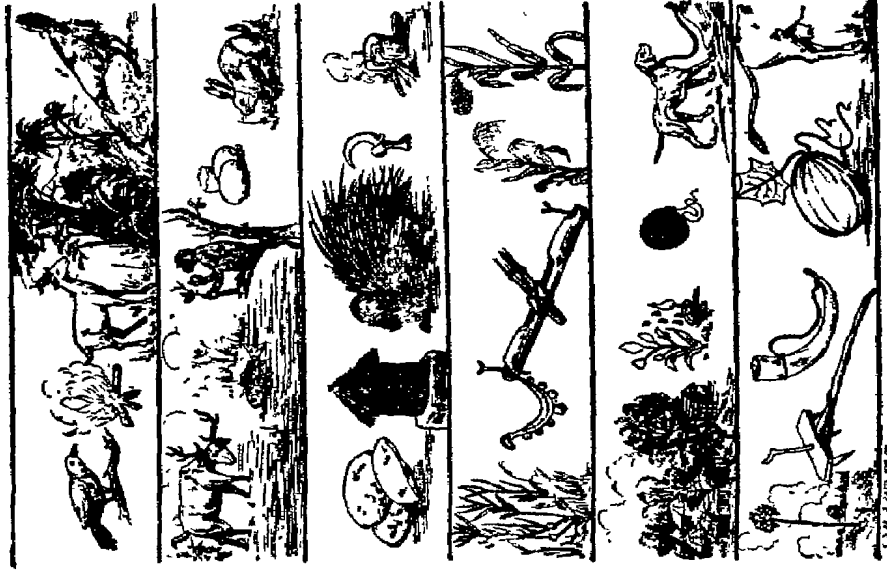
letter *k* in all its forms (see page 101). After six such lines follow short sentences with a bearing on the picture page, repeating the key-words in various contexts. In three such charts, each with a picture page and 16 text pages, are introduced all the letters of the alphabet, and as the sentences increase gradually in length, the student becomes familiar with the written form of more and more words. Completing the third chart the student has crossed the first bridge to literacy; he is now able to read simple texts. But what are the texts which will interest an adult without over-taxing his newly acquired ability to read? The effort of deciphering is for the newly literate quite great enough; it is too much to expect him to assimilate novel subjects. The more familiar the text is to the student the more encouraging it is to him, who after toiling through the rather boring charts, wants proof that he has really mastered the art of reading. A little self-deception at this stage does no harm. Reading a familiar prayer or song and substituting from memory rather than deciphering the more difficult words gives the newly literate the feeling of competence and achievement, and stimulates him as well as others to further efforts. So I chose for the "First Reader for Adults" a traditional greeting as introduction, short well known songs, a prayer known to every Gond, some riddles and short episodes from myths, and epics and poems often heard from the mouths of Pardhan bards and yet of never fading interest to the Gonds. The book concludes with the only completely unfamiliar piece, the translation of an animal fable of the Chenchus, another aboriginal tribe of Hyderabad.

Adult Education, however, is only one side of the scheme. The main work of the new teachers would be with children, adult Gonds being busy on their fields throughout the day. So we set about writing a Gond Primer for children and then a First Reader; here the lessons had to be adapted to child mentality and it was not possible to use set

texts from stories or myths. The reading matter had to be newly composed, it had to be instructive without being boring. Now the difficulties of writing even the simplest story in an unwritten language are far greater than one would imagine, even with the most enthusiastic helpers from among the ranks of the tribesmen. One man would suggest a sentence, and all the others would agree, but when the same sentence was read out to another set of Gonds they would object to words, grammatical forms and phonetic rendering. Dialectical differences between villages perhaps not more than 50 miles apart would cause dissension. But the main difficulty is the inability of the speakers of unwritten tongues to spot mistakes or unusual expressions. Through years of school education we have become sensitive to grammatical or phonetic errors; the Gond speaker will, however, often pass a sentence if only it conveys a clear meaning; grammatical nuances are ignored by the one Gond and strongly insisted on by the other. It was no easy task to compose the first Gond Reader, and again and again it had to be checked before the manuscript was read for the press.

Meanwhile the training of our Gond teachers continued. In those first months we laid most emphasis on Marathi, the step from Gond in Nagari characters to Marathi in Nagari characters being an easy one, but the Gonds themselves clamoured for instruction in Urdu, which, as the official language of the State, is no doubt of even greater practical value. So both languages were taught simultaneously; most of the students had to begin by learning the Persian characters and then, using a children's primer, proceed to the prescribed readers. These readers written for boys whose mother tongue is Urdu are certainly not ideal and are indeed not intended to teach language as well as orthography. Readers in Basic Urdu specially adapted for rural students learning the language, are now under preparation.

Gradually interest for the school grew



काकाड़	कीस	कुरस	केड़ा	कोर
मावु	मीन	मूनज	मेनज	मोलोल
सारी	सीबी	मुइ	सेटेइ	सोवेल
जाड़ी	जीला	जुवा	जेला	जोना
नार	नीइ	नूल	नेय	नोड़े
ताड़ी	तीपून	तुरा	तेरीया	तोकोर

को मे से छ न ते
 के मे से छ न ते
 कु म सु ङ न तु
 की मी सी जी नी ती
 का मा सा जा ना ता

and several of the villagers of Marlavai insisted on their children being taught reading and writing. So, long before we had planned it, a village-school grew up by itself, the children gathered in an empty shed and each day we deputed one of the teacher-candidates to teach them. This served two purposes: it gave the prospective village teachers practical experience, and gave us opportunity to test the value of the Gondi school kboos then only in manuscript. And not only small boys came to be taught but young villagers, some of them married and fathers of children, spent now and then an hour or two in the school.

After three months we felt sufficiently sure of success to increase the number of students under training to ten. Huts had to be built to house them; and we encouraged them to bring their wives to Marlavai. Some came from the plains from areas where Gond culture had already decayed, and for them the awakening of interest and pride in their own folklore was just as important a part of their training as the instruction in Marathi and Urdu. Book-knowledge alone cannot rebuild the Gonds' self-respect, undermined as it is by the contempt that other castes shower on the ways of life of the aboriginals; we had to make them feel that their customs, their religion, and their language were just as good and worth developing as those of other communities. We had to inspire them with an appreciation of the dignity of Gond ritual and the beauty of Gond poetry, music and dance.

Gond songs are to my mind the most enchanting folk-songs of the Deccan, and the great dance festivals of Dandari after the first harvest, when bands of men and women, dressed in all their finery and the most fantastic of head-dresses, move from village to village to sing and dance with their friends, are a glorious revelation of *joie-de-vivre* and sound artistic feeling. But in the plains, where 'advanced' populations have settled among the Gonds, the joy of these festivals is strangled; narrow-minded Hindus and Muslims—as intolerant as rural populations

of backward tracts tend to be—have long ridiculed the dancing of women and there are cases when village officers, abusing their authority, have forbidden dancing altogether. Gradually the Gonds themselves, conforming to their neighbours' prejudices, have begun to believe that dancing and drumming are undignified. A whole world of beauty and an art deeply rooted in Gond culture was dying.

It was amusing to see how at first our students from such 'progressive' areas looked askance at the villagers' dancing, how when we made them join, they moved stiffly and self-consciously, feeling, no doubt, their dignity at stake. But gradually the stiffness and timidity wore off, learning the steps they gained *élan* and soon, though they never achieved the grace of those who had danced since childhood, enjoyed the dancing as much as everyone else.

Similarly, Gond ritual became to them again a living reality; they listened to the Pardhans singing ancient myths which explain and authorize every feast and ceremony, and—what impressed them even more—saw us considering these myths sufficiently important to record them verbally for publication. In many of the areas with mixed populations there has been serious interference with Gond ritual. For the worship of the clan-gods and the great memorial rites in honour of the departed, cow sacrifice is obligatory; but where Hindus are the local power, be it as landlords or village officers, they have exerted pressure on the Gonds to desist from this rite, threatening to treat them as untouchables if they persisted in killing cows. This again gave the Gonds an inferiority complex, and they began half to believe that fulfilment of their religious duties was somehow wrong and lowered their social status.

Marlavai, in the heart of the hills, where no one tampers with Gond ritual, is a good place to combat this feeling. The students see the rites performed in their full form and notice that far from disapproving, we

encourage them to join in the village and clan festivals.

To plant the schools firmly in the soil of Gond culture, we introduced a school opening rite, modelled on the ritual that accompanies such ceremonies as the erecting of a flag in commemoration of an important event. When the children's school at Marlavai was opened, a flag on a huge pole was hoisted on the dance place with the traditional sacrifice of a goat and chickens. And now at the opening of every school similar flag raising ceremony is performed when the villages come together to invoke the blessing of the gods on the new enterprise.

Four months after work had started in Marlavai, the first two school teachers, men who had had some knowledge when they began their training, were sent to open their village schools. They were not finished products, but we wanted experience and also to see the reaction of the villagers. Lest education should prove an additional burden on the hard pressed villager, we supplied each master with free slates, school books and stationery, and the response in these first two village schools was so great that, whereas we had catered for 30 pupils in each school, the number of children seeking admission far exceeded this figure, proving that the schools were obviously meeting a felt need.

We did not hurry with the establishing of any more new schools, but waited for the printing of the Gondi book which, owing to the pre-occupation of the Government Press with war-work, was delayed. Thus the next four schools were not open until March 1944, and these were followed by another four in July. By opening yet four more in September 1944, fourteen schools in addition to the Training Centre at Marlavai will be functioning within 16 months of the inauguration of the Scheme. It is hoped that by September 1945, the end of the official Fasli year 1954, 30 Gond schools would be scattered all over the Adilabad District, and that at least a thousand Gond children and a good many adults

would be receiving instruction. Relapse into illiteracy of people, who as children have been several years at school, is one of the great difficulties of education in India. In the Gond Education Scheme it is hoped to avoid this danger; the teachers will live permanently in the localities of their schools, not as outsiders transferred from time to time, but as true members of the village-community and wherever possible they are given land to strengthen the tie between them and the other peasants. Through them reading matter will pass to those no longer at school, and it is unlikely that they will allow any of their pupils with whom they are in daily contact to relapse into illiteracy. They are to be the agency through which progressive methods of husbandry, improved seeds, simple medicines and some ideas of hygiene can reach the villagers. To train them for this function a small agricultural farm is now being attached to the Marlavai centre; there the teachers will learn the value of a modern plough, scientific manuring and high class seeds.

The function of the Centre at Marlavai is not merely to train future village-teachers. Education alone cannot achieve the social and economic rehabilitation of the Gonds. Responsibility must be given to those capable of bearing it, and the Gonds must gradually be enabled to take part in the administration of their villages. In the Adilabad District most village-officers, all *patwari*⁴ and very many *patel*⁵ are non-aboriginals—outsiders who usually do not even reside in the villages which they administer. Anyone familiar with conditions in the backward tracts of rural India, where not all land is settled and the minor Government servants, seldom controlled by touring officers, are a very real power, will realize

⁴ The *patwari* is a Government servant who keeps the village-records and collects the land revenue.

⁵ The *patel* is the village headman recognized and remunerated by Government; keeps the birth and death registers and is responsible for reporting crime.

the grave disadvantage under which this system places the Gonds. Without spokesmen of their own community, they are exposed to many a petty tyranny and exploitation by these non-aboriginals ruling their villages. The ending of this tutelage and the instating of progressive Gonds as village-officers in areas with a predominantly tribal population are as important an aim of the scheme for the rehabilitation of the Adilabad Gonds as the establishment of schools.

Local officials of the Revenue Department have therefore been delegated to instruct the students in Marlavai in revenue matters, the keeping of village-records, the writing of applications and the reading of orders written in the rather high flown Urdu of the Hyderabad administration. The response of the students was excellent; they understood the vital importance of the revenue laws for the cultivator and the advantage of being able to approach the authorities direct, instead of through the doubtful channels of petition writers. Some of the Gonds proved so quick in grasping the new subjects, that we decided to train them as village-officers. The experiment proved successful. Two of them, Gonds of mature and outstanding personality, who had had some practical experience of village affairs before they came to the Marlavai Training Centre have recently been appointed as *patwari*. This has made a great impression both on the Gonds and on the non-aboriginal settlers. The Gonds saw concrete proof that they were no longer regarded as inferior, as 'junglies', whose interests every one could override with impunity, and the people of other castes began to realize that the Gonds, in many places in overwhelming majority, had ceased to be the inarticulate mass at whose expense any shrewd and not over-scrupulous new-comer could grow rich.

It is therefore not surprising that the scheme met with great local opposition. Affluent landlords, money-lenders, non-aboriginal village officers and many minor

officials feared that educated Gonds would no longer be the pliable, helpless folk whose labour could be bought for a less-than-living wage and whose land could be easily usurped. They were not prepared to relinquish their hold on the aboriginals—the convenient reservoir of cheap labour and easily cheated debtors who seldom put up a fight. We had hardly started work at Marlavai when the wildest rumours spread across the district. First it was whispered that we wanted to educate the Gonds only to recruit them later for the army—whoever came to our school would soon find himself carried off to the war. Hardly had this rumour died out, when there sprang up the utterly baseless allegation that the Gonds were to be christianized. That our policy of encouraging and reviving Gond ritual and mythology stood in glaring contradiction to this rumour was conveniently ignored, and the alleged christianization of the Gonds caused quite a stir among local officials and even among quite influential people in Hyderabad. Next came the rumour that the schools were my private enterprise and would collapse as soon as I left the district. What then would the school teachers do without employment? There was a crisis when even some of our students became uneasy, but this too passed away. It is encouraging to note that all these attempts to sabotage the scheme have done no serious damage.⁶

We have been fortunate in receiving the most generous support from Government, and particularly from His Excellency the President, and the Revenue, Finance and Education Members of H. E. H. the Nizam's Executive Council. Indeed, the Education

⁶ Just how strong the opposition is to the raising of the status of the Gonds may be judged from the fact that when the first two Gond *patwari* were appointed all the Hindu *patwari* of the Taluq resigned, refusing to work with "savage" Gonds. Such incidents should serve as an eye-opener to all those who suffer from the illusion that natural contact with progressive populations alone will give the aboriginals a respected position in Indian society.

Scheme had been running barely six months, when Government initiated other far-reaching reforms for the benefit of the aboriginals. Mir Moazam Husain, a member of the Hyderabad Civil Service, was appointed Special Tribes Officer in Adilabad District, charged with the protection of the aboriginals and a Notification passed in May 1944 provided for grants of land, free of cost, to landless aboriginals. When in February 1944 urgent work called me to Assam, the supervision of the Education Scheme was taken over by the Special Tribes Officer and the technical work fell entirely to Mr. S. B. Jogalekar. The best proof of their ability and of the soundness of the scheme's basic principles is that on my return after five months I found the Training Centre flourishing, with eighteen students under training, and that the opening of new village schools had been according to schedule.

For the anthropologist the developments of the Gond Education Scheme are not without interest. They tend to show that the so-called 'primitive' tribes, races who have persisted longer than the rest of humanity in ancient modes of life, are by no means inferior in intellectual power. The progress made by some of the adult students is truly amazing. To quote only one example: sixteen months ago a young Gond of Marlavai who, until then, had led the ordinary peasant's life, ploughing and harvesting with the village folk, began his training as a teacher-candidate. He had never before been to school, but a literate Gond had taught him how to read and write a few words of Marathi. For all practical purposes he was illiterate; he could make himself understood in the usual bazaar Urdu, but had only the most superficial knowledge of colloquial Marathi. Today he has read up to the fourth standard in Marathi and writes a good and literary style, besides speaking the language fluently; in Urdu he has reached the third standard and vastly enlarged his vocabulary. Moreover, he has

learnt how to teach Gond both to children and to adults and will in September 1944 take charge of the children's school of Marlavai.

Before such achievements all theories of racial inferiority crumble. It is not lack of intelligence which causes the Indian aboriginal to remain illiterate and unable to defend his interests; it is lack of opportunity to learn and the determination of the privileged classes of rural society to keep him in a simplicity which is all to their advantage. To hope for a betterment of his position by unguided assimilation to the 'advanced' populations is futile and unrealistic; assimilated the aboriginals may become, but only to the lowest classes of society which, far more wretched and exploited than he, are yet without the joy of a vital culture, which brightens even the poorest Gond's existence. Help must come from outside, from social workers uninfluenced by vested interests and supported both morally and financially by progressive Governments.

The primary conditions of success are certainly enthusiasm for and sympathetic understanding of the aboriginals. You cannot help a people whom you do not understand, whose culture you do not respect, and I would not advise anyone to start educational work among aboriginals without first having spent many months in studying their culture and ideals. The proletarian of the towns may be led to education merely by the desire to improve his economic position; the aboriginal, though not insensible to the material advantages of learning, must be inspired by the emphasis on his own culture, pride in which is deeply, if unconsciously, ingrained in his soul; tell him that his myths and epics will be written down so that he and his children will have sacred books just as the Hindus and the Mussalmans have their scriptures, and he will be more thrilled than if you explain that the knowledge of reading will prevent the money-lender from cheating him. There is a great appreciation

of the beautiful in the Indian aboriginal, and his deep reverence for his ancestors, divine and human, expresses itself in a vivid interest for the myths and epics recounting their feats. Give this sentiment and the love of his native tongue a place in education and you have won the first round in the battle of literacy.

But knowledge and devotion are not enough; funds are an indispensable factor. The Hyderabad Gond Education Scheme is only in its infancy, but the expenditure in the first sixteen months was just over Rs. 13,000 and in the Fasli year 1354, when a whole-time Urdu teacher will be employed and the number of students raised to twenty, it will exceed Rs. 22,000. All credit goes to H. E. H. the Nizam's Government for meeting these bills, and for harnessing the Government Central Press to the service of the scheme. The basic educational literature is nearly completed and it is hoped that within the next twelve months a substantial Gondi literature of sacred myths, epic poems, historical legends and songs would be available in print. This literature will spread through the villages of the Adilabad District, and the day is perhaps not far off when it will be read also in other parts of Gondwana, inspiring Gonds with pride in their history and love for their own culture.

There may be some who wonder why Gond culture should be regarded as so valuable, why an admittedly ancient way of life should be perpetuated in a world of progress and change. To the social worker, striving for a regeneration of Indian society, the merits of Gond culture—and many other aboriginal cultures—are obvious. In the social life of the Gonds much is

retained in the shape of human values which the most progressive minds in India and in the world consider to be the proudest achievements of man. The Gond is fundamentally convinced of the equality of man; in his own society there are no classes; the poorest peasant converses with a Gond Raja as an equal. The Gond village is an utterly democratic community; untouchability is foreign to Gond tradition; there is not a single allusion to it in all the Gond epics, and it is only under the pressure of Hindu opinion that Gonds refuse certain depressed castes admittance to their houses. The position of women is excellent; to all practical purposes they are the equals of men; they are unrestricted in their movements, and free to marry the man of their choice. Pre-puberty marriage is gradually gaining ground, but it does not yet seriously threaten the freedom of the individual, an unconsummated marriage being easily dissolved. Freedom of the individual is indeed the key-note of the Gonds' social order, and in their regard for personal liberty they have nothing to learn from the most advanced nations. It is these principles, the ancient though often blurred and betrayed heritage of man, which should be upheld and protected; here among the aboriginals we have a society free of class-distinction, of sex inequality, of social evils such as untouchability and the ban on widow-remarriage. In the social sphere progressive and aboriginal India share fundamental ideals; it is the responsibility of progressive India to save the aboriginals from infection by evils that persist in rural society, and which in the centres of national life are now being slowly and painfully eradicated.

SOCIAL DISORGANISATION IN INDIA

An Address given by Dr. Radhakamal Mukerjee, M.A., Ph.D., at the first Convocation of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences in 1938.

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Crime and the Criminal

P. K. TARAPORE

THE mere mention of prison or penal reform seems to alarm people. The attitude of most persons is one of self-complacency. But some think that they know all about crime and the criminal and the way of dealing with them. Their remedy is very simple and they do not understand what all this fuss is about. They even go so far as to say that all penal reformers are cranks, that their effort is misplaced kindness and their recommendation is some sort of "soft" treatment. They tell us that all that is required is punishment. "Give the fellow hell and he will never do it again." Such ideas unfortunately prevail amongst all strata of society—the majority of the public, some of the judiciary, the police, the prison department itself and even Governments. One wishes that the remedy were as simple as these people imagine. Unfortunately, it is not so. The subject is complicated in the extreme. After years of experience and study the present writer wonders if he knows anything about it at all.

The mistake made in the past was that treatment was directed to the offence and not to the offender. The offence naturally irritates the public. If theft, an assault or even a murder is committed, the remedy suggested is so much hard labour or so much rigorous imprisonment and perhaps hanging for the murder. The idea is that if we take harsh measures the offender will be deterred from the commission of further crime. As we shall see later, deterrence does not depend on severity of punishment. But it depends on the certainty of punishment. Besides, no two cases are alike, even of the same offence. And to dole out the same punishment for each case, taking only the offence into consideration, is neither fair nor just.

Crime.—It is obvious that a study of crime, the criminal and punishment is essential if we are to arrive at correct con-

clusions. We shall therefore start with the abnormal human behaviour we call crime. What is crime? Is it a dose of original sin? Are criminals born? What are the factors that cause crime in a person? The answers to these questions will suggest the solution partly and a study of the criminal will do the rest.

Simply stated, crime is a breach of the law in a particular country at a particular time. It is obvious that if there are no criminal laws there will be no crime. Even today there are countries which exist in this primitive fashion. For example, the Pathan Tribes living beyond our borders have no laws as we understand them. As an instance, one man assaults another and the latter returns the compliment to the former or anyone else belonging to his clan or tribe. Every one takes the law into his own hands and deals out justice according to his own whim and fancy.

Then again what is an offence today may not be so fifty years hence, and conversely, what was not an offence fifty years ago may be so today. For example, there was a law in England, which has probably never been repealed, which made it an offence to buy up grain from farmers for any other purpose than personal use. In other words, in those days you could not buy grain and sell at a profit. One wishes that the law existed to-day in which case all the "financiers" or "cornerers" and "black-marketeers" would find themselves behind bars much to the relief of the public in these hard times. On the other hand, there are laws today, such as Municipal laws, Excise laws, laws relating to aviation, which did not exist before and which define new offences. Again, laws differ according to countries. We have laws about opium, but till recently no such law existed in China, so that what was an offence in India was not so in China. We also come across

another anomaly in the same country. What is an offence in one part of it is not so in another. This is well exemplified by the law of "Prohibition" introduced in only parts of this country by Government under the Congress regime.

The Criminal.—Now, what are the causes of crime and who is a criminal? Is the criminal a sort of devil incarnate permeated with a strong dose of original sin? Is he born as such or is he made? If he is made a criminal, who is responsible? If he is made and not born, what are the factors involved? Unless the offender¹ is insane or mentally deficient, he is an ordinary man with this difference that he has probably not received the benefits of education, or he has been thrown in the company of bad men, or has acted under grave provocation or temptation. When studied as an individual, he will be found to have many good qualities. No criminal is born as such though it must be admitted that some of them have mental kinks which, of course, exist from birth. In proof of this, one may mention the experiments made by the Salvation Army in India in the criminal tribes colonies. These tribes have been living a life of crime from generations past, and if criminals were born so, there would be no hope for their children. But when these children are removed from the influence of their parents and educated in a boarding school under proper guidance they turn out to be good citizens. There is no doubt that the criminal is a result of many complex factors one of which is his treatment by society, and it may be said that society is, therefore, partly responsible for its own product.

The causes of crime may be briefly stated here. They are partly intrinsic in the offender himself and partly in his surroundings. Those in the man himself refer to physical or mental defects which are always a great handicap. Owing to these defects

such men are left behind in the race of life and when they cannot earn their living they are tempted to lead a life of crime. Other causes are: want of a proper home and of home training. Those who have had the benefit of the good influence of their parents cannot realise how such training influences their whole lives. Then again, we may find that the offender has lost one or both parents; but what is worse, has a step-parent. In other cases there is lack of education, secular or moral. Bad companions are always to be found everywhere, especially in cities. These men get hold of youngsters and teach them the easy way of acquiring other people's belongings. Unemployment, whether compulsory or voluntary, leads to poverty and trouble. Lack of means of healthy recreation is also a contributory cause. Some or all of these factors influence the behaviour of the man, resulting in some cases, but not in all, in crime.

To judge an offender accurately, therefore, it follows that a careful study of all these factors which surround him is very necessary and not merely the way he has committed the offence. It is unnecessary to add that under existing conditions our courts have neither the time nor the means of carrying out any such investigation. The court judges the crime fairly accurately, but the criminal not at all, for lack of machinery for such investigation which needs specially trained, honest and earnest observers known as Probation Officers. What happens in the majority of cases is that an offence is reported, the police arrest the offender and produce evidence to prove the commission of the act. Then the court proceeds to sentence the accused according to the Penal Code. The judgment is not arrived at after taking into consideration the various circumstances which we have mentioned above and which in some instances may drive any one of us to the commission of a similar crime. But the mischief of the whole thing is that every one is satisfied that justice has been done and even the public is pleased

¹ Remarks made regarding males and boys are applicable to females and girls with slight modifications.

that one more rascal has been put away. Such haphazard methods, it will be agreed, cannot constitute justice. Ten men are convicted of theft. They may deserve to be dealt with in ten different ways if proper investigation were made into the past life of each. One may have to be put away for a long stretch, another may deserve our sympathy and consideration. As long as we have these rough and ready methods of dealing with offenders a serious gap will continue to exist in the otherwise excellent criminal laws of India.

Punishment.—It is sad to relate that the only method that comes uppermost to our minds in dealing with all the tragedies revealed in a court of law is 'punishment'. The average man has never heard of anything but punishment as a remedy for every offence and a corrective for every offender, whether the latter is a child or a young person, a grown-up or even a decrepit old man. It is sometimes amusing to read past literature on the subject. Even in England during the early part of the 19th century crime was supposed to be due to "the direct instigation of the devil", the offender "not having the fear of God before his eyes". "Divine intervention" was considered to be the only remedial agent; and while this agency was supposed to be working the only human contribution was to heap up torture upon torture. The specific remedy was applied to all alike, to children, old men and women, to lunatics and even to animals.

We have seen above the main causes of crime, and now see the absurdity of the remedy suggested, viz., repression and mental or physical torture. It will be seen that a prisoner who has not had the benefit of a good home or proper educational facilities and whose ideas of right and wrong are warped, or the person who has been under the influence of bad companions, cannot be corrected by the frequent use, for example, of the cane or other harsh measures. The advocates of strong measures

have been under the delusion that repression in some mysterious way is a corrective for all the complicated factors involved in the human behaviour which we call crime.

What then, one may ask, is your remedy? A study of the causes suggests the obvious remedy, viz., to fill up the gaps that may exist in the upbringing of the person, educate the offender physically, mentally and morally; in short, train and reform him. The offender will thus change his mentality and be returned to society as normal a man as possible and he will be truly deterred from the commission of further crime. Though the remedy suggested sounds simple, it must be admitted that it is a complicated process. It needs earnest and hard work done in a missionary spirit on the part of those who are entrusted with the care of offenders, young or old, men or women. The staff needs great power of observation, inexhaustible patience and a spirit that refuses to be defeated. If a person does not possess these qualifications, he is unfit to take charge of offenders. Unfortunately, India has to go a long way before she is able to enlist such workers in dealing with offenders.

The Background.—India is not a country, it is a sub-continent. It is approximately the size of Europe minus Russia. The total population is nearing 400 millions. Over 80 per cent of this is rural, living in something like 700,000 villages. All but a small fraction are illiterate. Agriculture is the occupation of the majority, and as this does not keep the farmer busy all the year round there are necessarily months of idleness. Poverty is the lot of the majority and, though there are millions of poor people who are law-abiding citizens, there is no doubt that poverty is an incentive to crime. Though there are two main communities, there are several others with different languages, methods of living and customs. When the majority of people live in small villages in a vast country like India, it is impossible to have an adequate police force as a preventative of crime.

Thus the police are always handicapped and hard pressed. Detection of crime is rendered difficult in the circumstances. In the urban areas there is overcrowding and sium life. There are many temptations for the commission of crime. Hundreds of street boys—waifs and strays—will be seen knocking about aimlessly day and night trying to get something for nothing. An investigation into the lives of these boys makes interesting reading. In cities and towns these boys form the nucleus of the future arch-criminals. As boys differ in their habits and customs according to province, an investigation as mentioned above is very necessary in all large towns and cities, if correct remedies are to be applied.

Main Principles.—We have already mentioned the old ideas with regard to the causes of crime. Much progress has since been made, but a lot remains to be done. The remedial measure of training and reform has also been suggested. This, one may mention, applies to the hopeful cases. The hopeless ones, that is to say, the incorrigible habituals deserve some other kind of treatment which will be suggested later. In the old days there was no intelligent classification of the different types of prisoners with the result that all were herded together—old with the young, first offenders with habituals—without discrimination. Contamination of the young and the casual offender was almost invariably the result and the man came out of jail worse than when he went in.

Punishment is inherent in whatever we do, whether the man is tried and discharged or fined or warned or awarded imprisonment. If he is imprisoned the loss of liberty and loss of contact with relatives and friends are in themselves a severe punishment. As an eminent penologist has said, "Men are imprisoned as a punishment but not for punishment." In dealing with an offender his age, character, antecedents, surroundings, and opportunities, or lack of them, for education, etc., have to be taken into con-

sideration. One has also to see whether he has been brought up as a normal man. However, the whole thing is a matter purely of business and the business is the appropriate way of dealing with a particular offender so that, if possible, he may return to society a normal, honest and industrious citizen.

In the treatment of an offender, perhaps the most important point to remember is that imprisonment should be the last resort, especially if the offender happens to be young and the offence is the first one. The reason is obvious. Even in the best managed prisons there are certain grave drawbacks. The longer a man is subjected to prison conditions the greater is the harm he is likely to suffer. A prison must necessarily have concentrated in it men of bad character—thieves, robbers, burglars, dacoits, murderers and prisoners who have been convicted of cheating, embezzlement and sexual offences. A novice in crime is in real danger of contamination from the old stagers. The constant association with confirmed criminals affects the mentality of the newcomer. He learns that there are cleverer men than himself and he gets to know their methods, 'the tricks of the trade', and he listens to stories as to how he can persevere in his life of crime and with a bit of luck avoid detection. What is more serious, he is taught to belittle the gravity of his misbehaviour. One of the worst effects of being in jail is the loss of the finer qualities which every man possesses. A prisoner gets more and more depraved, more callous and at times definitely cruel in his outlook. Moreover, he becomes almost an automaton. He is not allowed to think for himself but has to do what he is told. Not having the responsibility of providing for work for himself and looking after his family, he gradually becomes irresponsible. After a few years he may almost be likened to a "Robot". It is thus easy to see why the argument in favour of avoiding imprisonment, if it is at all possible to deal with the offender in some other way without harm to him or to

society, has appealed with so much force to sociologists. Even if imprisonment is necessary a prolonged stay in prison should be avoided for similar reasons. If men are to return to society as useful members there should be alternatives to imprisonment, and a generous and intelligent employment of such substitutes. We shall deal with these substitutes under the headings, "Probation" "Preventive Detention" and "Borstal Training" in a later article.

Classification.—There is no mystery about modern methods. All that it is proposed to do is to give intelligent consideration to the individual and sensible treatment in each case. When it is found necessary to confine a man in an institution, such as a Borstal School or a prison, appropriate training is the best corrective and deterrent. Treatment must be according to age, the degree of "dangerousness" of the offender sex, and previous status in life.

A child or a young person cannot be treated in the same way as a grown up person. The younger the offender the greater is the care and consideration necessary. Even amongst adults one might classify the less dangerous, the casual or occasional offender from the professional or incorrigible habitual. These classes have to be separated one from another and given appropriate treatment. It is needless to say that females require special treatment.

When a person hears of A, B and C classes, he often asks if there is one law for the poor and another for the rich. But this classification is really meant to equalise matters. A man of the cooly class would not suffer from the kind of treatment he receives in jail. He is accustomed to hard labour and simple diet. On the other hand, if an educated man who has never done any physical labour were to be subjected to the treatment meted out to C class prisoners, his health would deteriorate and even his mental condition would suffer. Such is not the object of imprisonment. It will thus be seen that these different classes have been

created to suit all conditions of life.

Types of Offenders.—From another point of view the following types of offenders have to be recognised, with a view to classification and special training:—

(1) The Casual or Occasional Criminal. He is generally a first offender and under stress of circumstances or owing to great provocation or temptation has committed a solitary crime. The majority of this class are hopeful cases though some of these would naturally become habituals.

(2) The Habitual or Professional Criminal. This class can be divided into those who are amenable to treatment and others who may be described as incorrigible. From the point of view of the penologist a habitual offender is an interesting study and one often wonders whether the so-called incorrigible offender is not perhaps a mentally defective person.

(3) Offenders who are Mentally Deficient. In Western countries the sane, the insane and the mentally deficient are recognised by law. In fact, one of the definitions of mental deficiency is that of the moral imbecile who goes on committing the same type of offence and on whom repeated punishment appears to have no effect. There is no doubt that there are mentally deficient persons in this country as in other countries, and the only way to find out how many such persons are to be found in a prison is to submit the population, particularly the habitual population, to an examination by an expert psychiatrist; and if, as a result of such a survey, a fairly large number of persons are discovered to be suffering from mental deficiency, obviously they should be separated and given appropriate treatment in a home meant for the purpose. Legislation to this effect would, of course, have to be undertaken.

(4) The fourth category is that of the Insane Person. As soon as it is found that a person is insane he has to be dealt with in a mental hospital and not in a jail. In this connection it may be noted that a fair

number of offenders are pronounced to be insane after they have been convicted and sentenced to imprisonment. This points to the necessity of exercising greater care during the trial of such persons.

(5) In the last class one may mention the Political or Evolutive Offender. Some countries look upon a political prisoner as the most dangerous of all. Others take a more sensible view and realise that as the world progresses we are bound to find persons who, through impatience or otherwise, desire to upset the existing order of things and hasten what they think is progress. It may be noted that a political prisoner of today may be a minister of the Crown tomorrow. On the other hand, an ex-minister may be a political prisoner today. Unfortunately no one has defined where a political offence ends and an ordinary crime begins, and it is some times very hard to decide whether an offence is political or otherwise as motive cannot be gauged judicially. It is not the purpose of this article to enter into an argument on this subject. All we are concerned with is that there is a distinct class of educated men in almost every country whom for want of a better name we may call political prisoners. These persons naturally must be segregated and given treatment according to their status and state of education in ordinary life.

The classification given above is simple and easily understood. In practice some overlapping cases will be found, but they can be easily recognised with a little experience.

A Complete Scheme Necessary.—We have seen that there are different types and categories of offenders, each one requiring special and separate treatment. It is therefore necessary for a wise Government to lay down a comprehensive and complete scheme for all types at all stages. It must be remembered that our methods of dealing with criminals are in a way the measure of our own civilization. A missing link might

defeat our best efforts. A survey of the methods adopted in countries that are not advanced will reveal some serious gaps. For instance, in one case we may find that no provision is made for the special treatment of young offenders. In another no attention is paid, may be, to intelligent classification and separation. With such defects in the scheme one cannot expect good results. But the worst feature of such a state of affairs is self-complacency—each country thinking that its method is the best and that the last word has been said on the subject. We must realise that the correct treatment of offenders is a highly technical and intricate problem and not such an easy matter as most people imagine. Besides, it is a progressive science. New methods are introduced year after year and old ideas discarded in the light of fresh experiences. In order to carry out the scheme highly trained persons are necessary and it should be the aim of the Government to secure such men and women; and in order to encourage persons with an aptitude for such work, conditions of service should be such as to attract good men.

In this connection one may mention a serious defect in our system. There is some department in the Secretariat dealing with matters in connection with offenders. Sometimes it is the Judicial Department and at others the Home Department. A secretary has charge of the subject, but he is changed every three years. A new secretary arrives and takes some considerable time to pick up the threads, so to speak. This necessarily hampers progress. It therefore appears to be necessary that one or more experts should be permanently attached to the Home Department, as is the case in England, so that expert advice is always available to the Minister or Member in charge and continuity of policy ensured.

In formulating a scheme the following objectives may be kept constantly in mind. Punishment, as we have seen, is inherent in whatever we do. Deterrence of the offender

himself can best be obtained by a serious course of training which leads to a change of mentality on his part so that he looks upon crime as a thing to be avoided in future. Deterrence of other potential criminals is to be obtained by the certainty of punishment more than by its severity in a few cases. Protection of society is after all the main object of all treatment. If society could not be protected, there would be no justification for asking the law-abiding citizen to pay for the maintenance of the law-breaker. Training and reformation of the prisoner should, therefore, be the main object of the State as the best means of protecting society permanently. In this connection I can do no better than quote the remarks of the great penologist, Mr. Alexander Paterson, H. M. Prison Commissioner, who came out to advise the Government of Burma. In an admirable report he states : "The primary object of all prisons is indeed the protection of society." But he asks the question whether this protection should be of a temporary nature or could it assume a more permanent form. He goes on to say:—

"If a prison is merely the cloakroom in which the enemy of society is duly deposited, till called for after a fixed period, or a kennel in which he is safely caged until on the appointed day he is let loose on society again, then indeed the protection afforded is of a temporary nature, and it may well be that, after the security of a few months or years, society will be at the mercy of an enemy more bitter and implacable than before. With this in mind, the tendency of modern administration has been to make a prison more than a mere place of custody.

"In order to afford anything in the nature of permanent protection either the prison must keep the offender within its walls for the term of his natural life, or it must bring such influences to bear upon him while in custody that he will, on the day of his discharge, be an honest, hard-working and self-controlled man, fit

for freedom, and no longer an enemy of Society. Public opinion still revolts from the idea of life-long imprisonment save in exceptional cases It remains, therefore, the duty of a prison administration to secure permanent protection for society by the reformation of the offender. But whether the prospect is hopeful or not, it is the duty of each prison administration to strain every nerve not merely to keep the man in safe and sanitary custody, but to do everything possible to train him to be fit for freedom. The object is to be training in custody, and not maintenance in custody alone. Here, however, another doubt suggests itself. Once the words "training" and "reformation" are accepted as watch-words of the system, is there not a danger lest the elements of deterrence and punishment may be eclipsed ? Is it not healthy that prison should be a place to be feared ? Will not the sanction of the law be weakened if prison comes to be regarded as anything else than a grim scene of daily punishment ?"

Simple Imprisonment.—How such a punishment as simple imprisonment ever came into existence the writer is unable to say. It means, of course, that the prisoner wears his own clothes and does no work while he is undergoing imprisonment. Very often the suit that he has on is the only one he possesses, and it may even be in a state of disrepair. The prisoner earns no remission unless he elects to work—which he seldom does. There is nothing so demoralising to a man as having no occupation. Simple imprisonment is neither deterrent nor reformatory and as such it should be abolished. If it is necessary on account of the light nature of the offence or for some other reason to prescribe a lighter form of punishment, then "imprisonment with light labour" can very well be prescribed. The rules may specify that such prisoners should not be employed on hard labour or menial work. Release on probation would also be a solution.

Short Sentences.—The Indian jails Committee (1920) in para 442 of the Report state, "The condemnation of all short sentences of imprisonment is widespread and practically unanimous." The treatment of prisoners with short sentences is the bugbear of the existence of a prison officer. Short sentences neither reform nor deter a prisoner. A good deal of the time is spent in the usual jail routine of segregation, vaccination, inoculation and general medical observation. The prisoner is hardly ready for work before the authorities have to think about his release. No kind of training is possible; and what often happens is that the prisoner who is presumably not well versed in crime comes into contact with dacoits, robbers and such masters of the craft and gets thoroughly contaminated. It is not possible to prevent idle gossip in a jail, and the idle gossip takes the form of relating each other's exploits in the field of criminality. It will be agreed that in the circumstances short sentences are almost always harmful without any corresponding benefit to the offender. Thousands of young prisoners are sent to prison every year for periods of three months and under. None of these could have committed a serious offence; nor could they be habituals. The cost of the State of maintaining a small army of short termers is heavy, and there is no corresponding benefit. Some other means of dealing with such persons is certainly called for and probation is one of the solutions. In suitable cases of

young offenders, even a small dose of whipping by way of school discipline would be far preferable to incarceration in a jail for a month or so.

Uniformity of Treatment Necessary.—The management of prisons is a provincial subject, but the Criminal Law is not so. Whether you are in the Punjab or Madras or Bengal, the Indian Penal Code and Criminal Procedure Code apply equally to all. This is not the case with regard to the treatment of offenders. Great variations will be found in this matter from province to province. One province may have enlightened ways of dealing with the offenders and the very next province may be far backward. This is manifestly unfair and some sort of uniformity is necessary. The only way this anomaly can be remedied is for the Central Government to co-ordinate the efforts of all Provincial Governments in the treatment of offenders, particularly of young offenders. It is true that conferences of prison officers have been held from time to time, but something more positive is required. For example, if the law about the treatment of young offenders is more enlightened in one province than in another, the Central Government might be able to persuade the backward province to adopt the law for its own people. In this way it is hoped that the treatment of offenders will be made uniform all over India much to the benefit of society in general.

Research in Physical Education in India

F. WEBER

ON the contention of its constituted body of authority that there is no scope or place for research work to be done in Physical Education in India, a leading university in British India refused to consider granting post-graduate degrees for research

work in this field. Unfortunately, the Physical Education Sub-committee of the League of Nations which has stressed the need for such research, had no Indian member on it. This is really a melancholy fact considering the contribution which

India has made to the world through her galaxy of scientists—the late J. C. Bose, C. V. Raman, the late P. C. Ray—every one of whom was imbued with a spirit of research and service.

In a country like India, with its multifarious peoples, diversity of habits and customs, climate, dress, housing, “wherein live not only humanity’s extremes—the world’s richest and poorest, highest and lowest, but also the sickliest and shortest-lived”—there is great scope for scientific research in various fields. With sickness and disease rampant, low vitality and resistance prevalent generally, the average life-span notoriously short, infant mortality extremely high, and the people illiterate, ignorant and superstitious, which field or phase of life should claim priority for research? Naturally, the general field of health.

The important factors which contribute to the raising of the standards of life and health are : (1) Medical service—preventive and curative; (2) Education which conduces to individual and social betterment; (3) An economic system which assures a larger measure of security and stability to all and (4) a nation-wide programme of recreation for both sexes and of all ages. Physical education in its broader aspects, as exemplified by the early Greeks, should play its part and interweave its activities with the recreational, educational and medical service. All the above-mentioned factors should be so correlated as to lead on to the creation of virile and sturdy individuals symbolizing in their lives the symmetry of body and mind. What is urgently wanted for giving scientific and purposeful direction to these programmes is incessant research into the possibilities of relevant sciences. And in this regard we cannot overemphasize the contributions which investigation into physical science and culture can make.

What then is the function of research? Research establishes principles and facts

and these can be interpreted and applied with necessary modifications for the benefit of all. With this practical view in mind a series of twelve simple but useful research projects were undertaken by a group of student-teachers undergoing training at the Government College of Physical Education, Hyderabad, Deccan. These projects which comprised six different groups and were carried out under careful supervision and guidance, were meant to serve three main purposes, namely :

1. To introduce these student teachers to research technique in physical education.

2. To collect facts and statistical data for present and future use.

3. To benefit now and in the future the subjects of these studies themselves.

We may now consider the research studies which fall under the following categories :—

1. Comparative Shoulder and Hip Girdle Measurements—(a) men; (b) women; (c) cross differences.

2. Neuro-muscular action.

3. Lungs.

4. Habitual Sitting Posture and the furniture of sedentary workers.

5. The Spine and the Feet Angle Standing Position.

6. Feet and Foot Arches.

For the purpose of these studies 2,980 different persons in a variety of occupations and callings served as subjects, most of whom benefited individually by the information supplied and practical help given. Ready and effective co-operation was given by all authorities including the following military, police, postal, education, and other government departments, hospitals, colleges and schools as well as the individual subjects themselves. Appreciation was expressed both by individuals and department heads for the help they received.

The subjects were distributed and studied as follows :—

- 1,200 High School boys were tested in neuro-muscular action.

200 Government Department sedentary workers were studied and tested for sitting posture with reference to the kinds of furniture used by them at work.

564 men and women were tested in lung capacity.

100 men's and women's shoulder and hip girths were measured for comparative study.

266 men's and women's feet were examined, tested, measured and foot-prints taken for record and further study.

150 men were tested in spine curvature and foot angle with reference to the standing position.

We shall now proceed to explain the above sets of studies, the first five briefly and the last a bit more fully. The fact of comparative girth difference between women's shoulder girdle and hip girdle holds more than an academic interest for the physical educationist who is charged with the responsibility of drawing up programmes and organizing activities for women and girls. It is obvious to all that man's centre of gravity is higher in the body than is woman's; that man has greater proportionate bulk and strength in the shoulder girdle than has woman; that woman's hip girdle, designed by nature to suit her biological function of maternity, while proportionate to other of her body measurements, is greater than that of man. Because of these very differences, it is essential to select and arrange her activities along entirely different lines, quite apart from any consideration of the psychological differences of the two sexes. The main reason for it is the peculiarity of body structure. Her counterpart, the male hero, who prefers to box, wrestle, jump, throw, lift heavy weights, does so for other than the purely psychological reason of impressing his strength and skill upon her mind. The real explanation is found in his structural make-up; his shoulders and arms are suited to such physical activities. Hence he prefers them, while the woman prefers

eurythmics (dancing, etc.) and activities of grace and neuro-muscular co-ordination. The differences in structure proportions and gravity centre of the two sexes are basic facts—nature's architecture for biological functions—facts which are too often ignored in arranging the programme of activities of women and girls. The findings of this study can be put to various uses.

The investigations of neuro-muscular action were of two kinds: one tested 900 high school boys of different age levels, body weights, statures, diets, social class and parental hereditary occupational callings. These boys had their right and left hands separately tested for gripping strength by hand dynamo-meter, and then the combined strength of the two arms was tested by pull-ups (chin'ing) on an overhead bar. Some interesting facts were revealed in relation to this study and family hereditary occupation, social class, and diet. The other neuro-muscular action study was a motor ability study in which 300 boys were tested, each in 20 different items of skill and strength. This is merely a basic study to be used to compare with other neuro-muscular studies later.

The next group of studies dealt with lung capacity in relation to habits, occupations and social customs. One investigator studied the effects of alcohol consumption on lung capacity and used for his study 200 men—50 non-drinkers, 50 light drinkers (under 5 drinks daily), 50 medium drinkers (between 5 and 10 drinks daily), 50 heavy drinkers (above 10 drinks daily). His data show the heaviest drinkers to have the least lung capacity measured by the spiro-meter (lung capacity testing machine); the medium and light drinkers ranked practically equal, while the non-drinkers came off well ahead as the best of the lot. The subjects in each of the four sets were of comparative ages and other controllable factors which might bias the study were kept in check.

After experiencing great difficulty in procuring subjects for the study on Lung

Capacity and Cigarette Smoking, our researcher proceeded with 50 non-smokers, 50 medium smokers (10 to 20 per day), and 32 heavy smokers (above 20 per day), only to find that his recorded data showed negligible differences. He was unable to procure a suitable group of subjects for light smokers (below 10 per day). It has been definitely established by at least five investigators who carried out their research on college and high school students that the scholarship level is higher among non-smokers than among smokers, and also several other investigators have found that non-smokers tend to be better athletes than the smokers. Those investigations were conducted on young students, while our study was carried out on full grown adults. Further research is needed to know more exactly the effects of smoking on the lung capacity of school boys and college students in India, for it is here that research work can make its greater contribution. We all know the generally accepted belief that smoking "cuts the wind" and for this reason even athletes, who smoke, often desist from doing so when preparing for a hard physical test in the form of competition.

An interesting but rather unexpected result came out of the research on "Lung Capacity of Band Pipers and non-Pipers" carried out on 124 men, all military, 62 Pipers and 62 non-Pipers. One would be inclined to jump at the conclusion that men who use the lungs a good deal by blowing into wind instruments obviously would show a larger lung capacity than non-Pipers. The findings of our investigation, however, prove the contrary. Measured by the same spiro-meter, the Pipers showed a lower lung capacity than the non-Pipers. The reason for this we do not know, as the research limited itself to finding out the facts of difference only. The explanation may be that the Pipers in their occupation of piping require only a short breath. This continual short breath practice would tend to develop a shallow lung usage and hence limit the muscle action of the

lung. When the time comes for a deep lung expansion, the lungs are incapable of responding. This is but a conjecture; further research is necessary to find out its cause. Moreover, it is also necessary to study whether this shallower breathing shows any deleterious effect upon the lungs by way of lung ailments. In any case, it seems obvious that the lung capacity of these occupational Pipers could be improved by certain lung and deep breathing exercises connected with chest heaving, etc. In this, as in the other research studies, the aim was to communicate the findings, along with hygienic suggestions, to all those immediately concerned in order that they might reap the benefit of such discovered facts.

The fourth and the last study of the lung capacity group was carried out on 50 Purdah women and 50 non-Purdah women. A rather elaborate set of facts from the study of these two groups was gathered, including age, overweight and underweight, general health, diet, etc. The issue the researcher sought to find out, namely, which of the two groups, the Purdah group or the non-Purdah group, of comparable ages, has better lung capacity, turned out as one might expect. His investigation revealed that the non-Purdah women have better lung capacity.

The two researchers, who investigated "Habitual Sitting Posture and the Furnitures of Sedentary Workers" among 200 office desk-workers of the government departments, measured, tested and examined their subjects in 114 different items with relation to body measurements, furniture used by them, their body posture and sitting habits, and dishygienic practices. Although both worked together, because of the great number of items to be noted in this study, one reported on the Study Procedure and the other reported on the Findings and Suggestions. Their collection of data should prove very helpful to future investigators on similar lines. To give a full report on their findings and recommendations will re-

quire more space than this article will allow.

A research study, sound in its conception and useful to Physical Education, was conceived and conducted by one of the student-teachers. Its purpose was to find out the relationship between the position of the feet in standing and the depth of the lumbar curve of the spine. It produced valuable data with reference to the effect the position of the feet in standing had on the lumbar (lower) spinal column. The technical obstacles this researcher had to overcome were many but its details fall outside the scope of this article. To collect his data the investigator tested and measured 150 men drawn from various economic levels and occupations—teachers, college students, military men, drill masters, "Perfect Physique Competition" winners, physical education student-teachers—all better than the average set of men. His study revealed that the depth of the lumbar curve increased with the increase of the angle of the feet while standing. With the feet placed in parallel (straightforward) position, the lumbar spine showed least of all curve; with the feet at an angle of 45° , heels touching together and toes wide apart, both feet thus forming a 45° angle, deeper lumbar curve was noticed; the feet forming an angle of 90° showed the deepest lumbar curve of all. As the increased depth of the lumbar spine curve is considered undesirable and as it is a condition which shows itself in weak-muscled, fatigued, ill-looking, energy-lacking, and dispirited individuals, it naturally follows that an increase of the depth of the lumbar spine curvature is to be avoided. Headaches, constipation, abdominal and pelvic disturbances are often traceable to this increased depth of the lumbar curve of the spine. Medical, orthopedic and modern physical education authorities support this view. The researcher of this study concludes that the parallel or straight-forward position of the feet in standing is the most hygienic and therefore the best, notwithstanding the military's continued use of

the angled position of the feet in standing.

It may be of interest to the readers of this article to know that their own two feet are probably not so near alike as they think them to be. Of the 266 pairs of feet—150 men, shoe-wearing and barefooted, and 116 women, shoe-wearing and barefooted—not one pair of feet was found identical. Either one foot is longer or broader than the other, the toes differently set, the heels differently shaped, one arch lower, shorter, narrower than the other, etc. As an example of this fact, to take one measurement alone, that of length, 26 women out of 33 were found to have a longer right than left foot, 3 a longer left than right, while only 4 had feet of equal length but revealed other differences, one pair of feet showing as many as seven such differences between the left and right foot without there being any sign of injury to either foot, nor of any recognition of the differences by the subject.

The 6th and the last group of studies dealt with the feet. The first of these is a study of the comparative differences in the foot arches of barefooted men and barefooted women. The researcher took impressions of the bottoms of the feet of all the one hundred subjects. These impressions were painted by a light paint and the subjects then stood with equal weight of both feet on especially selected paper which retained the impressions for study and record purposes. He took careful measurements of the length of each foot, its width and circumference at various points, and of the length of the longitudinal arch as well as its width and height. His findings showed the men's arches to be lower as a group than women's arches; he then searched for its reason. As these were all coolie men and women, he came to the conclusion that the men's arches are lower because they are weaker and more depressed from carrying heavier loads than those carried by women. The mass of detail which led him to this conclusion has no place here. A contemplated study in relation to this one is that of

50 shoe-wearing men and 50 shoe-wearing women in order to cross-compare them to these barefooted subjects.

In his study of the "Occupational Influence on the Foot Arch in Standing and Walking Duties," the researcher collected so much detailed data that a complete book would be required to embody them. He selected for his study 50 standing-duty policemen and 50 walking-duty postmen. The policemen were all doing traffic-directing duties while standing at the same spot all day; the postmen walked from 8 to 22 miles per day delivering or collecting letters. These policemen were younger on an average by 4 years (policemen 32.2 yrs.; postmen 40.4 yrs.), and the policemen were selected more carefully as to physique and health than were the postmen, but yet the foot arches of the policemen were far inferior to those of the postmen. The arches of the policemen were lower, shorter, narrower as was clearly shown by the measurements made on the feet directly as well as by the foot-prints taken of the hundred subjects of the research. Measurements and foot-print were taken both before and after the day's duty, as well as body weight, height, diet, and many other data. The postmen lost more body weight from so much walking, while the policemen lost more height from so much standing in their respective day's work. The facts of lossage of weight and height caused by the two respective duties hold a relationship to the facts of the postmen's feet becoming shorter and the policemen's becoming longer at the end of their day's work. The policemen showed much more general body fatigue and lassitude than the postmen and also showed a definitely lower morale. The comparative differences in foot-arch structure and function as revealed by this researcher's study led him to conclude that:—

1. Standing and walking have their own peculiar influence or effect in shaping the foot-arch structurally and changing it functionally.

2. While walking strengthens and improves the foot-arch, standing for long periods continuously deteriorates it.

3. Depressed foot-arches mean tired feet, and tired feet mean a fatigued body.

4. A fatigued body tends to bring with it a spiritual ebb or dispirited outlook (emotional ptosis).

Incidentally it may be stated that his set of 12 hygienic suggestions sent to the Police authorities was greatly appreciated.

Another research, by the long title of "Influence of Occupation on the Feet and Foot Arches of Hospital Women Nurses and Women School Teachers coupled with High Heeled Shoes" brought out some important facts and useful information. For this study 33 hospital nurses and 33 teachers served as subjects. The object was to find out which of the two occupations affected the foot-arch more adversely, hospital nursing or teaching. Although the study showed the nurses to be much younger as a group, their diet to be good, their body weights for their heights and ages to be nearer the normal than the teachers, they reported considerably more discomfort, pains and aches in various regions of the body but notably in the feet and foot-arches. The foot-prints and measurements showed the nurses' arches to be quite inferior in structure and function to those of the teachers. The fact that the nurses while on duty were on their feet most of their long day might be considered sufficient cause for a large degree of pains and aches in the leg-calf, knee and thigh muscles and the lumbar (lower back), spinal column and head areas. Besides their longer hours of duty and harder floors to walk on, the nurses wore, as a group, much higher heels on their shoes. The study revealed, not surprisingly, that the higher the shoe-heel worn, whether by the nurse or the teacher, the more discomfort, pain and ache occurred in the feet, calf, knee, pelvic, and lumbar regions, as well as strain and general weariness.

While talking about how Louis XIV introduced the high heel to society, a manufacturer of a type of hygienic shoe, having a straight inner border, proper shank, wide forepart to conform to that part of the foot and low broad heel, once said in private conversation: "When Louis took his first step in those high heels, they should have been charged with high explosives and detonating caps". When asked, what about Louis? he replied: "If his luck kept in, he would have come through." When remonstrated with for taking so drastic a course of action against the innovator or at least the reputed introducer of the high heel to society and fashion, he calmly replied: "I forgot to say I am only quoting my foot-orthopedist friend who spends his days treating and correcting the deformed feet of men and women—mostly women—and advising and cautioning them against the use of high heeled and pointed toed shoes."

Both these men knew a great deal about the deformities caused to feet from wearing fashionable and unhygienic shoes,

principally of the high heel and narrow forepart variety. But it is from the general orthopedist that we have come to know about the high heel being the cause of the forward tilt of the hip girdle and the excessive or pathologic forward curvature of the lower spine (lordosis), with the attendant ailments to the organs of the pelvic, abdominal and even the thorax areas; of nervousness, constipation, female organ trouble, headache and pains in various local areas of the body far removed from the seat of causation. It can be said truly, so far as high heeled shoes are concerned, that, "Pains and maims is the price of passion for fashion."

And now a concluding word for research in physical education. It is reported that when Michael Faraday, founder of electrical science, who spent 23 years writing up his "Experimental Researches In Electricity", was once asked by a woman what was the use of it, he turned to the good lady and asked, "Madam, what is the use of a baby?"

Economics of Non-violence

V. L. MEHTA

AT a time when Asia and Europe are ravaged by the most diabolical war that humanity has witnessed so far, it is but natural that the thoughts of mankind should turn to peace. "The thing that makes for peace above all others," as Aldous Huxley observes,¹ "is the systematic practice in all human relationships of non-violence." The outstanding contribution of Mahatma Gandhi to the achievement of this aim for which every human being craves is that he, more than any other world teacher, living or dead, has not only conceived a social philosophy based on non-violence, but has also practised what he preaches, and has inspired thousands of

his countrymen and women to accept the creed in their daily life. In a sense, Gandhiji is a prophet, because he foresaw, long before most others did, the chasm into which the civilization that had enthralled us was drawing us. He had begun to think of a new way of life based on non-violence long before the conflicts that now threaten to engulf us had manifested themselves.

Explaining the significance of the Charkha as the symbol of non-violence, Gandhiji says: "The Charkha had become part of the programme of love. As I was picturing life based on non-violence, I saw that it must be reduced to the simplest terms consistent with high thinking. Food and raiment will always remain the prime necessities

¹ *Ends and Means.*

of life. Life itself becomes impossible if these two are not assured. For non-violent defence, therefore, society has to be so constructed that its members may be able, as far as possible, to look after themselves in the face of an invasion from without or disturbances from within. Just as a domestic kitchen is the easiest thing in such circumstances, the *takli* or at the most the spinning wheel and the loom are the simplest possessions for the manufacture of cloth. Society based on non-violence can only consist of groups settled in villages in which voluntary co-operation is the condition of dignified and peaceful existence. A society which anticipates and provides for meeting violence with violence will either lead a precarious life or create big cities and magazines for defence purposes. It is not unreasonable to presume from the state of Europe that its cities, its monster factories and huge armaments are so intimately interrelated that the one cannot exist without the other. The nearest approach to civilization based upon non-violence is the erstwhile village republic."

In an age when democracy is recognized as the basis of society, it is pertinent to point out that a society of the type that Gandhiji contemplates has inherent in it the elements of a democratic constitution such as the industrial civilization that the modern world knows to-day has not been able to build up so far. Thinking minds in the West agree with Gandhiji in this respect. "A community which is still predominantly agricultural," asserts Dr. A. D. Lindsay,² "has the social basis of democracy secure." "Consider," he proceeds to remark, "the nature of large scale mechanical production. Its economic efficiency has been increasingly based on a concentration of planning and initiative in a few hands. In modern industry, the organization and discipline of men has become in itself an instrument of production—a few have governed, and the great mass of workers have been organized and

² *I Believe in Democracy.*

disciplined. Thus, the structure of modern production itself is essentially undemocratic." "If the responsibility and individuality produced in a country by agricultural life are a good seed-ground of democracy," he concludes, "the denial of responsibility and individuality incident to mass production is a very bad one In an industrial society, most men depend for their livelihood on finding a place in the system They have none of that natural economic independence and security which largely prevail in a democratic agricultural society."

It is through the constructive programme that Gandhiji seeks to take the nation along the path of non-violence and democracy in action in matters that affect its daily life. That programme represents the achievement of *Poorna Swaraj* by truthful and non-violent means. The pursuit of the desired goal through violent and, therefore, untruthful means is unacceptable to him because of its inevitable concomitant—the destruction of property, life and truth.

A civilization based on violence breeds the passion for power and where power politics holds sway, perfect equality—economic or otherwise—such as is connoted by his definition of complete independence, is inconceivable. To him, independence is a structure built on sand if it is not built upon the solid foundation of economic equality. Economic equality, however, he holds, is possible only in a state of society based on non-violence. On the economic plane, non-violence means the pursuit of *Swadeshi*, the elimination of the profit-motive and the competitive spirit, the assurance of a minimum subsistence to every member of society, the promotion of village self-sufficiency and, lastly, the according of the supreme place even in mundane matters to the things of the spirit.

What exactly is connoted by the term *Swadeshi*? Gandhiji's broad definition is that any article is *Swadeshi* if it subserves the interest of the millions. Amplifying

his view, Gandhiji explains that an industry to be Indian must be manned by Indians, both skilled and unskilled. Its capital and machinery should be Indian. The labour employed should have a living wage and be comfortably housed, while the welfare of the children of the labourers should be guaranteed by the employers. This definition, however, does not fully bring out Gandhiji's conception. *Swadeshi*, according to him, is that sentiment in us which prompts us in our daily dealings to patronize the goods of our immediate neighbours rather than the goods brought from distant places, which calls upon each individual or group to depend for his or its sustenance mainly upon the immediate environment. This postulates the education of the consumer and the acceptance by him of sacrifice for the furtherance of the cause that he seeks in the interest of society. In communities organized on the modern Western pattern, sections of society are called upon by the State to undergo sacrifices in various forms. What Gandhiji wants is not obedience secured by the coercion of the State but the willing co-operation of the growing section of the community, as they come to recognize the implications of the spirit of *Swadeshi*, voluntarily to subject themselves to a sacrifice for the cause. Apart from the effect on the purses of the people, this calls for a change in their tastes and their outlook which may take some time to be brought about. If, however, the education of the public proceeds as Gandhiji would have it, and touches sooner or later the life of every single individual in India, the result, in his words, will be to make everyone feel aglow with the possession of a power that is hidden within himself and make him proud of his identity with every drop of the ocean of Indian humanity. The non-violence of this spirit of *Swadeshi* will thus make it a potent force in revolutionizing economic life.

As Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has often

pointed out, Mahatma Gandhi's outlook on life being essentially that of a great humanitarian, he is naturally not interested in economic theories and doctrines. Nevertheless, there are aspects of his philosophy which distinguish his way of thinking and of action from those of the capitalist school of thought which has dominated economic life almost all over the world for well-nigh over a century. If the profit-motive is not anathema to Gandhiji and if he does not seek its absolute elimination, it is because he contemplates production being carried on by individuals, on a restricted scale according to their capacity, on a basis of self-sufficiency and for the services of their neighbours. Where production is largely decentralized, the profit-motive has not much scope for play. But that production should be for use and not for profit is common ground between his creed and that of socialism. Production being for the service of the community and not for the enrichment of individuals or groups, the competitive spirit, such as has full play under *laissez faire*, is at a discount and yields place to co-operation in the service of the community. Even if Gandhiji may not claim that the instruments of production should be socialized, he insists that their control should not be at the discretion of individuals or of corporations. They should be deemed as being at the disposal of the community in the sense of subserving its purposes and its interests. It is for this reason that he demands the nationalization of all large scale centralized industries such as are essential for the needs of the community; though, according to him, these should be much less important in the life of the nation than the decentralized industries through which the bulk of the country's production should be organized.

It is through the dispersal of production and the enforcement of the doctrine of trusteeship that he seeks to establish economic equality in India as a pattern for humanity to follow elsewhere. This brings into

play the creed of non-violence which, while ensuring subsistence to every one who works, prevents exploitation of the weak by the strong, of the unorganized by the organized, of the poor by the rich, of the employee by the employer. A non-violent system of government, Gandhiji avers, is an impossibility, so long as the wide gulf between the rich and the hungry millions persists. There has to be, on the one hand, a levelling down of the few rich in whose hands is concentrated the bulk of the nation's wealth and, on the other, a levelling up of the naked millions. Gandhiji hopes for a voluntary abdication on the part of the capitalists of wealth and the power it confers, failing which there is bound to be, he fears, a violent revolution. The non-violent way, therefore, is the acceptance of his doctrine of trusteeship.

What are the main features of this doctrine, apart from the underlying assumption of economic equality? The first is that the use of any property that is possessed by the capitalist owner is determined by social necessity, and, secondly, that its management should be in keeping with equalitarian ideas of social justice. The trustee is, albeit, a self-appointed manager; but his administration has to be subject to social controls. Lastly, he should recognize that he is a trustee for all the wealth which he collects. What he retains for his own use may depend not upon his discretion but upon the direction of the community, the maximum he is permitted to retain being not more than a multiple of the average earnings of those engaged in the enterprise from which the gains are obtained. Gandhiji does not claim that the doctrine of trusteeship has been examined in all its bearings, much less worked out by him in all its manifold aspects. It provides, however, for a non-violent transition from the present stage of capitalist domination to that of a defunctionalized capitalism. Instead of destroying or liquidating the wrong-doer as has been done in Russia, an attempt is

made, as Mr. M. R. Masani puts it,³ to undo the wrong of the anti-social use of property without resort to the authority of the State.

The transition is best secured by introducing the principle of decentralization of production. "Its supreme merit," it has been observed, "lies in the fact that it prevents the emergence of wide disparities in income and style of living." The average individual producer is so concerned about earning a competence and laying by, if possible, a small surplus for emergencies that he cannot think in terms of increasing his margin of profit. Production carried on by such individuals can scarcely be said to be based on the profit-motive, so that the encouragement of production by these individuals or their guilds or co-operatives working on a small scale leads, necessarily, to the elimination of the profit motive in production.

It tends also to eliminate another factor which has spelt ruin for our economy, namely competition. With the emphasis removed from personal gain the competitive spirit has little scope for play. With its disappearance one may hope to see the avoidance of the economic waste that competition involves, apart from the social evils such as ill-will and bitterness that it breeds, and the conflicts to which it gives rise. The incentives for labour will be the service of the community, production for use, and the enrichment of all rather than the aggrandisement of the few. The road of decentralization is also the road to responsible self-government. To quote Mr. Aldous Huxley, again,⁴ "At present the management of large scale production is in the hands of irresponsible individuals seeking profit It is the uncoordinated activity of large scale production that leads to these periodical crises and depressions which inflict such untold hardship upon the working masses of the people in industrialized countries. Small scale production carried on by individuals who

³ *Socialism Reconsidered*.

⁴ *Ends and Means*.

run the instruments with which they personally work is not subject to periodical slumps. Furthermore, the ownership of the means of small scale personal production has none of the disastrous political, economic and psychological consequences of large scale production—loss of independence, enslavement to an employer, insecurity of the tenure of employment In this way many of the advantages of individualism can be preserved and, at the same time, opposition to indispensable reforms will be minimized.”

The contribution that Gandhiji has made to the correlating of the means of production to its ends is well brought out by Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao in an address delivered at the University of Delhi⁵ where he examines the different constituents of work on which depends all economic activity. These are: the art element in work; the dignity and pride element in work; the personality killing element in work; the character forming element in work. All these are elements in economic activity which have a bearing on the development of human personality and, therefore, in the ultimate end of human activity. In economic activity as it is ordered to-day, it is doubtful if there is scope for the free play of these factors. Economic life should be so organized as not to hamper but to foster and promote the end of all human activity, namely, the development of human personality. It may be claimed for the policy of decentralized production, which Gandhiji seeks to promote, that it offers full scope for the play of the creative instinct, provides an atmosphere which safeguards the self-respect and dignity of the individual, avoids the ignoring and suppressing of the personality of the worker and helps in the building up of the character of the individual as an entity and as a unit in the social organism.

To Gandhiji, decentralized production is synonymous with the reduction of the use

of machinery. His condemnation of the machine is based on two grounds, economic and sociological, but both arise out of the doctrine of non-violence which colours his entire outlook on life. The sociological approach is the same as that which inspires humanitarians of his way of thought in various countries. For instance, Mr. L. P. Jacks⁶ traces the emergence of the machine from its proper place as a servant of mankind into a state where there has been a “surrender in our social life of the creative principle to the mechanical.” The dominating position which the machine has come to occupy in life has bred a passion for control; hence, planning for the future has to be on mechanistic lines. The machine should be subordinate to the creative purpose of life. Believing in the possibility of re-educating men in the right use of machinery, Mr. Jacks hopes for a time when machines need not be destroyed, but will be mastered “when creativeness will have got the upper hand of them using them for its own ends and inventing new ones for the same purpose—the most splendid creative age the world has ever seen, our present mechanical age being the road to it. That day if it ever dawns will be a good day for religion and for other things as well for joy, for peace and for good-will among men. In that day, competition will turn no more on who can get the most of this world’s goods, but on who can make the finest use of them, the new competition, creative competition, which enables all who take part in it, spurring them to surpass themselves and binding them together in the pursuit of excellence—the dynamic bond of the universe.”

Gandhiji’s attitude is similar, but more emphatic, and yet less visionary. Writing nearly twenty years ago, he observed: “Machinery has its place; it has come to stay. But it should not be allowed to displace human labour. An improved plough is a good thing. But if by some chance one man could plough up the whole of the land

⁵ *An Essay on the Nature and Purpose of Economic Activity.*

⁶ *Revolt Against Mechanism.*

of India and control all the agricultural produce, and if the millions had no other occupation, they would starve, and being idle, they would become dunces, as many have already become. There is hourly danger of many more being reduced to that unenviable state. I would welcome every improvement in the cottage machine, but I know that it is criminal to displace hand labour by the introduction of power-driven spindles, unless one is at the same time ready to give millions of farmers some other occupations in their homes." This is the sociological and economic argument all rolled into one.

Machinery, therefore, must be dethroned from the place of exclusiveness and exploitation enjoyed by it, and its indiscriminate use should be prevented in view of its potentiality for economic waste and destruction. Simple tools and instruments, as well as such machinery as saves individual labour and lightens the burden of the millions of cottages, aids mass labour and simplifies it or adds to the volume of employment, are all welcome. The movement for the revival of village industries, Gandhiji explains, will protect any machinery which, without depriving masses of men of the opportunity to work, helps the individual and increases his efficiency, and which he can handle at will without being its slave. When Gandhiji observes that he considers it a sin and an injustice to use machinery for the purpose of concentrating power and riches in the hands of the few, he bases his opposition, primarily, on the evils arising out of the capitalist exploitation of the machine. But he goes further and holds that the evils that the machine brings in its train are inherent in the industrial civilization it promotes. Hence, he believes that the extended use of the machine may not be compatible with his concept of a free and just society.

This position calls for some examination. The machine method may be easy but it is not necessarily a blessing on that account. If the craze for it continues, Gandhiji

fears, a time will come when we shall be so incapacitated and weak that we shall begin to curse ourselves for having forgotten the use of our hands and other limbs. The elimination of drudgery is all to the good; but if human labour is reduced to a minimum there will arise the question of how best to employ the leisure that will be at the disposal of men and women, as also to get an opportunity to exercise their limbs so that they may digest the food they eat and thus grow strong and healthy. Are the useless unproductive expensive games and exercises which are encouraged to-day a suitable substitute for the useful, productive handy occupations that are abandoned? "Leisure is good and necessary upto a point only" remarks Gandhiji, "for God created man to eat his bread by the sweat of his brow." Hence, he dreads the prospect of our being able to produce all that we want, including our foodstuffs out of a conjurer's hat, as it were! Moreover, as Prof. J. J. Anjaria has remarked⁶ "labour is not a discomodity, a disutility always to be minimized—it is a life-giving force."

Similarly, the argument that the use of machinery promotes a rise in the standard of life is scarcely tenable in India when it is obvious that the growth of industrialism during the last half-a-century has not had the desired effect of bringing about any material change in the living conditions of the large masses of our population neither in the urban nor in rural areas. Besides, there is nothing meritorious, Gandhiji holds, in the mere multiplication of wants if that is deemed, as is so often done at present, a criterion of a rise in the standard of life.

The argument that clinches the issue lies in the fact of the deteriorating effect the extensive use of machinery has on the problem of unemployment in the country. "In a country where crores are without work," remarks Gandhiji, "to use any power except that of man is to still further increase the unemployment". The machine

⁶ *Gandhian Approach to Indian Economics.*

may pour wealth into the pockets of the chosen few; little attention is paid to crores of people from whom the machine snatches away their bread. The process of industrialization, as it has gone on so far, instead of reducing the volume of unemployment, has added to it; it has had the effect of throwing out of employment thousands of workers in cottages in rural areas and compelling them to draw scanty sustenance from the land. What the tragic consequences of such a process are is evident from the sad calamity which in 1943 overtook Bengal where the worst sufferers from the famine were landless labourers and artisans and other cottage workers in the rural areas of the Province. In Bombay, where industrialization has made greater headway than in any other Province in India, the conclusion to which an expert committee, with Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, an eminent industrialist, as Chairman and Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, a distinguished economist, as, Secretary, arrived at, may be summed up in the following words: "Thus the industrial evolution and modernization of the Province has seen the agricultural community suffering in two ways, namely, increasing pressure on land and increase in under-employment due to loss of subsidiary occupations."

There were according to the census of 1931, at least 2 crores of totally unemployed persons in India. Adding to these the number of persons who, owing to the seasonal character of the agricultural industry, are chronically under-employed, the aggregate number of the unemployed may be put down at 4 crores, as computed by Sir M. Visvesvarayya in his "Economic Planning for India". The problem of unemployment in India is thus, as Dr. Sudhir Sen points out,⁶ not a residual one but a primary one. The number of persons employed in industries using mechanical power was less than 35 lakhs. Even if we include the numbers engaged in railways, shipping and mining and allowing for an increase in employment caused by the

War, we shall get a figure which is about one-tenth of the aggregate number of the unemployed. Apart, therefore, from the opposition to machinery which Gandhiji puts forward on idealistic grounds, there is the equally substantial ground for his objection to the so-called technological progress which impoverishes the countryside and as a result degrades and dehumanizes the rural population. "Bread for all before cakes for some" is thus a cry for life-giving work which can be ignored, as Gandhiji has warned us time and again, only at the cost of the suffering and miseries of large sections of our population.

Writing of the conditions in China which owing to the huge size of its population are nearly akin to ours, Prof. R. H. Tawney observes⁷: "In view of the long periods of enforced idleness to which the Chinese farmer is exposed—he is said, in parts of China not to be employed in agriculture for more than a hundred days in the year—by-employments which supplement his income ought obviously to be encouraged. In the majority of European countries and particularly in those with large peasant populations, rural industries carried on in the cottage of the workers still play a more important part than is commonly realized. In China, the impression of a superficial observer is that hardly a district is without one or more of them. The dexterity, ingenuity, resourcefulness and, above all, sense of beauty of her common people, are a social and economic asset of inestimable value. The course of wisdom, it may be suggested, is to build upon them. "Unfortunately," he adds, (he wrote before the days of the movement for the reorganization of small scale industries through co-operative societies took shape), "there are few signs that clear views have been formed of the part which such crafts are to play in the future economy of China." Will their decline be accepted without demur as in England, or as in Germany, will an attempt

⁶ *The Conflict of Economic Ideologies in India*,

⁷ *Land and Labour in China*.

be made to preserve them by improving their productive technique and business organization? This means there should be a thorough investigation of our whole economy, and examination of the respective spheres of cottage and large scale industry. For himself, Gandhiji has defined the scope, the principal ground for his choice being that he is oppressed by the problem of unemployment. He wishes to plan for full employment because to him unemployment is waste. He wishes to see the entire employable population employed in productive work. Necessarily, therefore, the drive for the encouragement of cottage industries must be intensified till the point of full employment is reached. For these reasons, Gandhiji looks upon the development of Khadi and other village industries as an integral feature of the national urge for freedom. They constitute, according to him, India's peculiar contribution to the building up of the new social order in which he hopes pauperism, starvation and idleness will be unknown. They provide scope for earnest national workers to identify themselves with the economic struggle of the millions of the unemployed and under-employed in our villages.

It may be urged, especially at a time like this when there has been devastation on a vast scale, that what the world needs to-day is the increase of production on a stupendous scale and that to secure this end, the standard of productivity of the individual should be raised. At the same time, it is being increasingly recognized that there should be full employment provided for the whole employable population if social security is to be ensured for every unit in the community. Once the gaps caused by destruction have been repaired, the provision of full employment will be possible in countries like Great Britain and the United States of America only on the basis of their ability to increase, on an intensive scale, their exports to countries which need these goods or on which the goods can be forced. Inasmuch as

every country will seek to develop its economy on the same basis, the free markets in which the industrially advanced countries can operate will be limited. Hence, the need for colonies, dependencies, mandated territories, spheres of influence. The world will thus be confronted again with a fight for markets, the exploitation of the markets going hand in hand with the exploitation of labour, agricultural and industrial, of these unfortunate countries. Industrialism based on large scale production through centralized undertakings and Imperialism, open or disguised, must, therefore, march together; the former is crippled without the latter. Imperialism in its turn brings about conflicts by arousing envy and rivalry amongst nations, each anxious, at least to hold on to what it has, if not greedy for further fields of exploitation. Thus, we have an endless succession of wars and interludes which are preparations for wars, presaging a dark future for humanity, unless the world realized where the mechanistic civilization leads it.

Writing nearly twenty years ago, Gandhiji remarked that though he could not claim to know the diagnosis of the European disease, nor the remedy in the same sense in which he claimed to know both of India, he felt that, fundamentally, the disease was the same in Europe, as in India, despite the fact that the people of Europe enjoyed political power. Asian and African races were exploited for the benefit of the peoples of Europe, but the process of exploitation did not stop there. Shorn of all the camouflage, the exploitation of the masses of Europe was sustained by the same means by which the European races exploited their fellowmen in Asia and Africa. If they wish to free themselves from exploitation and degradation, the people of Europe should, according to Gandhiji, take to the path of non-violence in economic life. Undoubtedly, a juster distribution of the products of labour is necessary, but along with it must come a recognition of the basic fact of economic life that we should

all cease to think of getting what we can, and decline to receive what all cannot get. This immediately takes us, Gandhiji avers, to contentment and simplicity voluntarily adopted. Under the new outlook the multiplication of material wants will not be the aim of life ; the aim will be rather their

restriction consistently with comfort. Only if this ideal makes a successful appeal to the peoples of the war-torn world, can we hope to check exploitation and its consequent degradation of the exploiter and the exploited and to end the struggles for economic supremacy and political domination.

Preparing for Leadership

B. H. MEHTA

WHEN the attention of the whole country is concentrated on the need of undertaking gigantic national reconstruction plans, the need of leadership in every aspect of human life can hardly be over emphasised. Human civilization is to a great extent the product of leadership—leadership of ideals and ideas, of executive ability and organizational capacity. The progress and speed of western civilization during the last few centuries has been due almost exclusively to leadership. This leadership is the result of a new outlook on life, a new purpose in education, of the democratization of education and the creation of a social and economic order which is willing to inspire and encourage personal initiative and self expression.

Conditions in India, and perhaps in the whole of the Orient, have unfortunately never been favourable to its growth on an extensive scale. Narrow social outlook, the caste system, the patriarchal joint family, the *purdah* system and the position of the woman in society, the absence of strong and independent national governments backed by a keenly developed national consciousness and the absence of domestic education—have all been detrimental to the advancement of leadership amongst all classes of peoples. Nevertheless, several important factors have contributed lately towards a rapid change in the social environment which has made possible its

growth and development in the life of the country. Political freedom and education are the two greatest contributing factors towards the creation of leadership. Among others the industrial revolution in India and the growth of urbanism may be mentioned as being significant. An intensive study of social forces reveals that the presence of conflict in human relationship accompanied by an awareness of it stimulates naturally the growth of leadership. Conflicts in India—political, industrial, economic, religious and social—during the present century have created, even amongst the masses, a new leadership, elementary though it may be due to their immaturity and lack of enlightenment.

The present century, therefore, began with a turn for the better in every direction and the immense progress of the country since 1905 in the fields of politics, trade and commerce, industry, art, science, education, social life and social organization, in fact, in every branch of national life, has been due to an increasing supply of leadership of varying degrees of importance and ability. The greater the increase in its supply the keener has been the realisation of the need of more and more leaders in ever-increasing fields of human activity. The comparatively small supply of leadership available to the country so far has widened the horizons on which it can function. It has not only increased the fields of human endeavours

but so inspired the nation with ambition and a love for achievement that India will not be satisfied any longer with a position in the world which is not befitting her historical heritage, her vast populations and her premier position on the continent of Asia.

It is, therefore, but right that the need for leadership is fulfilled quantitatively, and that men and women who possess clear and creative ideals, keen, resourceful, and inventive abilities of mind, a higher level of efficiency and administration, organizational, technical and scientific ability, a nobility of character with shining virtues of sincerity, courage, independence, perseverance, and finally a willingness for selfless service and capacity for sacrifice are put in the service of the country.

It is very often said that leadership is born and it cannot be created. It is true that the child of the Force or Will temperament is born with an independent spirit which is intolerant of opposition and frustration. But the type of leadership that is required in the modern world can be acquired provided the opportunities required for self-expression and initiative are present as a fundamental characteristic of the social environment. It can be even stated that there is no human being who is incapable of displaying a capacity to lead in some form or other during the whole life-time. Natural leadership is crushed by poverty, defeat, frustration, coercion and fear which are so evident in the lives of millions all over the world. Bernard Shaw, in his expressive way, speaks of "the release of impulses" of the masses of the world. To state it differently: The same opportunities that are provided to a few in the present social order, if offered extensively to larger populations, will naturally and gradually stimulate the latent powers of leadership and make them active to satisfy the needs of human progress.

Freedom, opportunity and education are the three basic fountain heads of constructive and rational leadership. The positive

absence of these three also creates leaders in the world of a different character who achieve strength and ability through experience and conflict. It is but right that not only India, but the whole of humanity should have unrestricted freedom, opportunity and education so that the attainments of civilization, which are products of creative leadership, may shine better.

The social background and traditions of a community very greatly influence the opportunities available for developing leadership amongst all classes. The democratic society contributes more towards its growth than any other form of Society; for such a society recognises the principle of personality and allows personal freedom to the maximum extent in conformity with the requirements of social health, security and stability.

While Societies where there is sex equality and where both the sexes are permitted responsible freedom and opportunity to develop mutually healthy relationship, from very early age, promote the development of leadership, those where sex repressions, inhibitions and frustrations predominate arrest its growth. Besides, every community requires the leadership of both men and women, and any kind of male domination deprives the community of having the advantage of female leadership which is so vital to the growth of innumerable aspects of family and social life.

The relationship between age and youth is another factor that influences the possibilities of leadership. Societies in which adults are friends of the young, advising and guiding them in all important matters, but at the same time encouraging independent thought and action, and providing them with opportunities for self-expression contribute the utmost towards the continuity of human progress and establish a chain of leaders which is never broken. Where youth is habituated to submission and adult domination, adequate experience of life cannot be obtained, opportunities for leadership can occur only very late in life; and even

at that it will be less mature and efficient than a leadership which has been tempered by experience from a very early age.

In all societies there are functions of leadership, authority and service which cater to the welfare of the community, and opportunities should be made available to youth to meet these important social responsibilities from a very early age, if necessary, with the guidance and co-operation of more mature leaders.

There is nothing which contributes so much towards the training and growth of leadership than loving life. The ground for it is prepared almost from the very first day of the life of the child. The creative leader is born in the healthy atmosphere of a happy family. Conjugal happiness of the married couple gives a unique advantage to the child to develop and grow in an atmosphere of security and helpfulness. It is true that a certain type of leader arises from an environment of frustration, cruelty and struggle, but the leader who is created by the inspired affection and care of his parents makes a unique contribution to the progress of mankind.

The home and physical and human surroundings give a distinct stamp to human life from a very early age. No doubt, the slum and the humble cottage has often produced leaders. But the squalor and the struggle of life have been distinctly marked on their ideas and activities. It is not palaces and surroundings of luxury but the simple, healthy, happy home uncontaminated by ugliness and filth that can create a constructive and creative leadership which will be successful in the ordinary walks of human life. Whilst ugly surroundings have indeed created and inspired an impressive list of leaders, healthy human companionship from a very early age is vital for the growth of leadership. Not only the members of the family but neighbours and street companions, school-mates and friends on the playground contribute towards the development of leadership. Human companionship and

association need to be creative and inspiring to cultivate right ideals, ideas and ambitions from early childhood.

The vital factor, however, that moulds character and shapes initiative and self-expression is Home Education. This education is most unlike the education imparted in schools, as it is an almost unconscious process of moulding and shaping the human mind and behaviour, encouraging and inspiring useful experiences that directly contribute to the growth of the leader. Intelligent affection and a total absence of physical punishment, harshness and unnecessary scoldings are vital to the growth of leadership. Ideal home surroundings give an opportunity to the child for maximum growth physically, emotionally and mentally. The childhood of the future leader should be full of healthy and creative play and energetic activity. The atmosphere of freedom and absence of unnecessary restraint, helped by friendly adults who do not dominate and dwarf the life of the child will lay a deep foundation which will awaken the qualities of leadership which are latent in more children than is ordinarily known.

The wise parent who fosters the habit of self-expression in the child cultivates the habit of self-help and self-dependence which are the essential qualities of leadership. The child should be given every opportunity to face obstacles and master its environment. It should learn to manage its own affairs, and even such other affairs which could be attended to according to its age and ability. This does not, however, mean that a child should be permitted to dominate its friends and associates; leadership should always be cultivated together with the spirit of service and a willingness to help others.

There is a controversy even now between those who advocate the pre-school and those who maintain that the child should receive as much education at home as possible and should join school as late as possible. The pre-school is mainly a product of the present century. Whether it is Kindergarten, or

Montessori or any other type of Nursery School, there is no doubt that an institution, with its helpful and healthy environment, its special type of trained and sympathetic teachers, its play interests and equipment, and its scientific methods of training, is most useful for cultivating some of the important traits of a leader. Leadership in the nursery school is always encouraged, and the selected type of play activities fostered amongst associates of equal age give immense scope for its development. The application of the activity principles in pre-school education, which habituates the child to persistent activity, experimentation and experience, is one of the most useful features contributing to the training of a leader.

What can be said of pre-school education cannot unfortunately be said of primary and secondary education as they exist in India at the present day. Of course, there are some excellent and useful educational institutions that realise the importance of leadership and encourage the young to avail themselves of every opportunity for self-expression and initiative. But the educational system as such, permeated and dominated as it is by political considerations of those who laid the foundation of this education in very early days, is not meant to cultivate and train leadership. The teaching staff, the curriculum, the class room, the methods of teaching—all combine to rob the young of any opportunity for such training. The absence of incentives for independent thinking accompanied by the absence of activity and healthy play experiences all contribute to thwart rather than encourage leadership. It is only in extra curricular activities and in free activities outside the school that the young find any real opportunity for self-expression, and leadership.

In the training of leaders the school has to play an immense part. The entire system of education needs to be radically overhauled. It is the task of the teacher to inspire the young and develop their

ability to lead by making each history lesson an example of leadership achievement. The school laboratory and the workshop (unfortunately there is none in even the best of Indian schools) are other spheres which can provide opportunities for such training. A radical overhauling of modern school curricula will help to introduce many new subjects and will radically alter many old ones. Nature study, Geography, History and Biology can especially inspire leadership and ambition. School administration and arrangement can themselves provide excellent opportunities for training in leadership. As illustrations, the Monitor system and the Dalton Plan may be cited. The Bugston and other experiments have revealed unique ability on the part of youth to manage their own affairs. In schools the best opportunity for training in leadership is, of course, provided by the playground and the extra curricular activities. Most of these will be dealt with presently in youth activities under voluntary youth organizations.

When dealing with this subject the Scout and alleged movements should naturally receive our best attention. An excellent youth programme like scouting has unfortunately been sadly riddled in India by political controversies. Scoutcraft can be generally divided into its four main spheres. The Scout Promise and Laws lay the general foundation of ideal character and citizenship. The four general tests lay down an excellent practical course in general knowledge. Unique contribution to every possible known youth interest is made by the Proficiency Badges which by themselves are training fields for leadership. Finally, there is the most important sphere of open air life—camping, hiking, tramping, tracking and innumerable other activities that are the best training fields for leadership. Only the first of the four spheres of activities have invited bitter controversy. It is upto the authorities of the Scout Movement both in England and India to sacrifice the less fundamental aspects of the Scout

Movement so that Scouting can make its unique contribution towards the training of thousands of boys and girls in leadership. The best preparation for leadership is afforded to youth on the playground and in movements organized by themselves for their own welfare. Important youth movements were born all over the world at the end of the last war, or even earlier. Virile youth organisations with attractive and efficient programmes gave scope for leadership and training of the young. Soviet Russia, Germany, Italy, Turkey, China, Japan, Sweden, Czechoslovakia, and many other countries created new movements of a nationalist character, whilst England, U. S. A., France and other countries already had organizations which catered to the welfare of youth, and incidentally provided adequate scope for leadership.

In India the late Dr. Annie Besant and her able successor, Dr. G. S. Arundale, gave a strong impetus to the youth movement. Pandit Malaviya and Mahatma Gandhi too inspired and encouraged the youth to lead, organize and do constructive work. At the beginning the Boy Scouts Association of India was under Dr. Besant's leadership. In 1917 the Seva Samiti organisations came into being. Later, organizations of a different kind came into existence, adopting names similar to the Y. M. C. A., like the Young Men's Hindu Association, the Young Men's Parsi Association, etc., though these associations hardly had the clear ideals, efficient organization and adequate resources which the international movement had. The Young Theosophists were very active between 1925 and 1930. Almost the same period saw the birth of the political youth leagues which took an active part in movements upto 1931. Earlier than this students' organizations came to be formed with the birth of the Bombay Students' Union; since then a number of national students unions have entered the field, taking an active part in political and other matters. The communal spirit that developed in later years

also permeated the life of youth and the older Muslim Students' Union evolved into junior branches of the Muslim League in many parts of India.

It is unfortunate that the unsettled political life of the country and the controversial problems that effect our national life have all along prevented the proper growth and development of a constructive youth movement that would lead towards leadership, organization and creativeness. The bitter controversies in the Scout Movement started when Pandit Malaviya created a separate movement in the North, refusing to join the Boy Scouts Association of India in the South led by Dr. Mrs. Besant. The first visit of Lord Baden Powell did not succeed in creating a united organization whilst his second visit completed the breach that already existed and created the so-called Indian National Scout Association. The Scout Round Table Conferences that broke down created the powerful Hindustan Scout Association but a united body still remained distant on account of political controversies.

The Physical Culture Movement, the Gymnasia Movement and the Playground Movement are most essential for leadership training. Unfortunately, India still lacks any well organised Physical Culture Movement for the young. Political and communal controversies created through various types of Akhadas all over India and different volunteer organizations, like the Hindustan Seva Dal and commercial organizations like the Rashtriya Seva Sangh and the Muslim National Friends, came into existence. The National Olympic Association hardly inspires the youth of the country and especially the masses. Both Indian and foreign games, like Atya-patya, Hutu-tu, Khokho, Volley Ball, Foot Ball, Basket Ball, Hockey etc., that provide such excellent opportunities for leadership, lack an appeal for the young, though the labour welfare departments, community centres, etc., have introduced these games in their respective spheres of influence. There are, however, innumerable other youth

interests that creatively employ the lives of youths and provide them with healthy recreation and also contribute towards creating even an intellectual and technical leadership for the country.

Next to the Playground, Gymnasias and Athletics, outdoor life has the greatest appeal for all youths of the world. A few progressive schools, the Scouting Association and to some extent the University Training Corps provide an opportunity for life in the open air. But camping, hiking, tramping, mountaineering, tracking, nature study and innumerable other healthy pastimes of the young that build character, create courage, develop resourcefulness and train leadership are hardly evident in the basic activities of instructions and organizations dealing with young people. It is curious that India with its vast coast-line and its many rivers, lakes and tanks has created no great enthusiasm for swimming. Likewise cycling, the cheapest mode of travel, which is one of the most important factors of leadership training, hardly occupies any place in the programmes and activities of our youth.

The superior technical leadership in the West, which has led to the growth of industry, is greatly due to the way in which this type of leadership of the boys and girls were developed in the early years of life. The activity principle in the pre-school period is followed by a many-sided development of youngsters through hobbies. Boys and girls craft circles, and opportunities provided at home for making things, foster creativeness and self-expression at every stage in life. The Model Engineer's Club in Bombay is probably the first of its kind in India. The boy has innumerable technical interests like handiwork, fretwork,

knife carving, modelling, papier mache, wire work, painting, drawing, etc. If schools and private clubs could provide small workshops and laboratories more youth interests, like wood turning, saw machinist experience, modelling, book-binding, mechanics, electrical experiments, experiments in applied chemistry, radio engineering, could be developed at a small cost. While many boys' interests are common also to girls, special interests of the latter, like flower making, embroidery, felt work, raffia, barbola, wax work, cooking, cutting, fancy work, laundry work, etc., could be added to help the woman to become an economic asset to the family and add to its meagre income; and at the same time leadership could be cultivated where there is greater interest and ability.

Where leadership is absent the early periods will naturally be full of difficulties, obstacles and struggle. But, after a brief period of action and organization, leadership will inspire larger and larger numbers and all aspects of human life will demonstrate a freshness, vitality and creativeness which are absent to a great extent at the present day. The immediate task is to realise the vital importance of leadership and make bold adjustments in human society. The freedom that we pine for in political field can be easily introduced in the social framework and the family. The new atmosphere of freedom, thus created in the family and society is sure to build up dynamic persons, kindled with robust enthusiasm and love for action. When the like atmosphere of freedom permeates our educational institutions, playgrounds and all other spheres where youth learns and grows, we may expect to realize the nation abundant in its citizens and leaders.

AGRESTIC SERFDOM IN NORTHERN INDIA

A. M. LORENZO

THE employment of human labour in agriculture gives rise to many problems with regard to the type and conditions of work which are of supreme importance. In India, as in all agricultural countries of the world, forced labour has played an important part in supplying a permanent source of power in times when family or hired help was scarce. Although agriculture was regarded as the most honourable of professions, it was, nevertheless, considered a suitable employment for slaves who ultimately outnumbered the other type of workers.

The system of personal servitude is a picturesque relic of the past. Though the history of the development of village communities in northern India does not throw sufficient light on the origin and growth of agrestic serfdom, there is ample evidence that this pernicious custom is not exotic to India. As a trait of culture, agrestic serfdom is a creation of environmental pressure, and must be attributed a parallel growth in different regions of the earth; and though it manifests itself in multifarious forms at different times and in different places, it shrinks in essence to a simple economic product of the geographical environment. Whenever a transition in economic stages is forced by the pressure of physical environment—soil, climate, fauna and flora—new economic institutions evolve themselves and gradually merge into the social structure, thus making adaptation quicker and easier. The agrarian history of India shows that agrestic serfdom is a socio-economic institution, evolved out of an imperious economic necessity in a closed system of village economy.

Agrestic serfdom is not a primitive institution, and therefore, it cannot be traced back to the Collectional Economic Stage. It is essentially an industrial institution of late growth. In the pastoral stage, particularly, where the peripatetic tribes became

comparatively more localized by practising meadow-husbandry, agrestic serfdom had gained good ground; whilst in the more settled economic stages of village settlement, where agriculture became the principal source of subsistence and other primitive occupations subservient to cultivation, serfdom had come to stay. Where agriculture is practised with crude implements and without the aid of domestic animals, where the working population is scarce, where the land must be reclaimed from the wilds and marshes, and where soil and climate act as limiting factors for the employment of imported labour—it is not the capital that is wanted, but native labour to reclaim the land and cultivate it under difficult environmental conditions. Under these circumstances bond-labour of the native population is introduced and pinned to the soil in conditions akin to slavery and serfdom.

The institution of slavery in India, with special reference to agricultural slaves, seems to have been established in very remote times, and is linked up with the idea of innate dependence of *Sudras* and their perpetual slavery as one of the axioms of Brahmanism; because the *Sudra* issued from the feet of *Purusa*, the primeval male feet denoting service. Thus the original slaves were called *Dasas* or *Sevaks*, terms which signify eternal social and economic dependence, and the existence of *Dasas* was considered a liability redeemable only by service.

As an established social institution slave labour was a conspicuous feature in ancient India. The Law Book of Narada enumerated fifteen different varieties of them. The *Kutumbins*, who cultivated land as a subsidiary means of livelihood, were understood by Kielhorn to be only serfs. Similarly, the *Upavasas* who formed the bulk of the landless class flourished in an aggressive state of serfdom. Kantalya gave

it his sanction as the lawful privilege of Government servants and the land-owning classes. The number of slaves was increased from time to time when the villagers captured in a war by an enemy were sold as agricultural slaves, or by addition of persons who sold themselves to landlords during famines, and to money-lenders for relieving themselves from the burden of cumulative debts.

The nature and extent of agricultural slavery in northern India cannot be estimated beyond the middle of the 18th century A. D. from the meagre data available. Traces, however, of agricultural slavery appear in the history of the occupation and development of the Chota Nagpur plateau by hordes of immigrants from the Ganges and Mahanadi valleys. The Munda chiefs were the first and original reclaimers of the soil, but were subjugated by the Oraons in the 10th century A. D. After about two hundred years the Oraons were crushed by Cheros and Kharwars who exercised dominion from Ranchi to Allahabad. In the 13th century A. D., however, the first influx of Banias began from Bihar, the U. P. and Central India and, by a systematic policy of money-lending, these Dikkus (immigrant Mahajans) had assumed supremacy over large stretches of land and become jagirdars. With the increase of Hindu jagirdars there grew a competition for raiyats, and the system of bond-labour was inevitably introduced. Agricultural slavery was therefore established long before the British occupation of the Chota Nagpur territories.

From the proceedings of the Council of Revenue dated 17th May, 1774, we learn that vending of persons as slaves to landholders was abolished in Bhagalpur district of Bihar. Early in 1789 the Collector of Shahabad wrote to Lord Cornwallis requesting speedy instructions as to the manner in which he should determine cases of agricultural and domestic slaves. In 1790 forced Santal labour was freely used in Birbhum to clear jungles and reclaim land for cultiva-

tion, and according to Southerland (1818) and Dunbar (1836) the Ghatwals and Dikkus had completely enslaved the aboriginal population of Santal Parganas, and the Santal insurrection which broke out in 1854 was due to the oppression of usurers who had systematically reduced the Santals to poverty and slavery. In 1800 it was observed by several travellers that the condition of the indebted and landless agricultural labourers in Cooch Behar was akin to *Villain Franks* and *Sokemen* of the French and English manorial villages. In 1808 Dr. Buchanan Hamilton made a minute survey of some of the districts of Bihar and concluded that agricultural slavery was a common feature of the rural economy of these regions, as is also evident from the answers of the Muftis and Pundits to the questions put by the Nizam-i-Adalat in 1809.

In 1859 the "Statement Showing the Material and Moral Progress of India" showed that agricultural slavery still prevailed in the Chota Nagpur plateau, the Ganges and Brahmaputra valleys, and the sub-Himalayan regions. From the classification of bond-slaves made by Professor Wilson (1865) and Sir W. Hunter (1872) we find that the system was introduced by moneyed Hindu settlers. It was organized primarily for forming various agricultural and domestic duties. In 1886 the Jesuit Missionaries, after converting them to Christianity, liberated many slaves from the clutches of their masters. The report of the Bailey Conference with Christian Missionaries and landlords in 1890 brought to light the universal practice of Kamiauti (bond-labour) in northern India.

The first systematic survey was made by Sifton in 1908, who observed that agricultural slavery was extending in all parts of Chota Nagpur, and in 1913 Bridges reported that almost the entire aboriginal population of Bihar had been enslaved by non-cultivating landlords. In 1930 Dr. Radha Kamal Mukerji during an unofficial in-

vestigation found that many villages of Ranchi, Hazaribagh and Pallaman were populated only by landless, serfs. The Government of Bihar in 1934 deputed Chowdhuri for an official enquiry into the nature and extent of Kamiauti and bond-labour in the province, but the report was not made public. Our systematic investigations from 1933 to 1940, however, have brought to light several important points: *first*, that agricultural slavery in its original form does not exist any more, but appears in milder forms of 'serfdom' and 'begar'; *second*, that newly reclaimed forest lands and unhealthy submontane tracts are hotbeds for agrestic serfdom; *third*, that the system, though considerably now weakened, is not completely suppressed and likely to persist until the bogie of absentee landlordism and non-cultivating owners is removed by drastic legislation.

A distinction, however, might be drawn between slavery and serfdom. Slavery is the subjection of men individually, and a subjection which includes the whole personality of the slave. The master of the slave is entitled to all the services of the slave, including his personality or his very existence, which makes him a living chattel. Serfdom, on the other hand, is the subjection of men individually or collectively for rendering services to the master in lieu of some obligation. The slave owner may do with his slave whatever he is not by special laws forbidden to do; the master of a serf may require from his men such services or tributes only as the law allows him to require.

Serfdom in India is characteristically a group status where custom still mainly controls status and tenure. The depressed and exterior castes are supposed to be degraded and despised and their members are in collective subjection to the members of higher castes. The fate of many caste-groups, whether due to poverty, low birth or the nature of occupation, is sealed by forces of socio-economic nature which are

often beyond their control. Serfdom in India, therefore, does not amount to personal servitude. It is usufruct-servitude, with a right to enjoy a thing, the property of which is vested in another, and to take its fruits, but not to destroy or fundamentally to alter its substance. While it extends for life, the usufruct right might be created for a fixed term, or it may be terminated by the death of the holder.

Serfdom, therefore, will be used in the following pages to designate, first, a group subjection; and second, a usufruct personal servitude. No doubt, under bad masters, it has assumed the form of primitive slavery and involved the entire personality of the serf, but recent legislation in all parts of India against slave-labour has brought this institution into a stage of further transaction. Thus we have passed from slavery to serfdom, and now to Begar, which is simply a seasonal servitude justified both by custom and law. This transition was forced by pressure of changing custom due to cultural penetration and diffusion, the opening up of dark regions, and a more effective political administration. Wherever the status of the peasant proprietor has been encroached upon by high-caste money-lenders, who have broken through the weak system of tenancy and usurped the land of poorer classes, the farm-hand verges on serfdom like that of the *Ohakar* in Bengal, the *Baramasiya* in north Bihar, the *Kamia* in Chota Nagpur, the *Muliya* in Orissa, the *Sewak* in the U. P., the *Hurwahee* in Central India, the *Oheora* in Kumaon, the *Shalkari* in the C. P., the *Halia* in Gujarat, the *Dubla* in Bombay, and the *Padial* in Madras.

Agrestic Serfdom, as a social liability to landlords, by virtue of their property ownership, has still a stronghold in certain backward agricultural regions of northern India, and appears to be an old and hereditary practice. If one travels along the Himalayan base, from the valley of Kashmir to the Brahmaputra basin, a multitudinous

variety of serfdom will be found associated with the agricultural practices of different regions. Purely physico-environmental rather than social causes are responsible for the consistent prevalence and inertia of agrestic serfdom in these 'dark' regions of the country. The institution, as old as the cultural history of the Aryans, has flourished unimpaired by the vagaries of times and has played an important part in the rural economy of the regions where it has been established. The vestigial remains of agrestic serfdom, still found under different forms, are briefly described below :—

The Haliyas and Chyoras of Kumaon.—

These are household slaves as well as slaves for the cultivation of the land, and are recruited from the Khasiya and Dom castes respectively. Both these classes of slaves are dependent on their masters for food, shelter and clothing, and an obligation for the discharge of marriage expenses. Slavery in the form of household women slaves (who are also sold for immoral purposes) are not uncommon even under strict prohibitory measures. Up to 1840 the name Haliya was given to these Doms who were employed as ploughmen with their families, and could be sold with the land, that is, title in land also gave title to the slaves cultivating it. The Cheora, or the domestic slave could be sold or given away with his family without any reason being assigned. These slaves are almost solely confined to the hill-pattis and to Bhabar regions, and along with many other low castes, such as Ruriyas, Orhs, Bhuls, Bhairsuwas, Agaris and Kolis, constitute the bulk of the agricultural serf population. All these castes represent apparently an aboriginal race and from time immemorial have played the part of serfs to the agricultural land holding-castes of the Bhotias, Khas-Rajputs and Bagbans.

The Sewaks and Hariyas of Oudh.—The 'Sewak' system is prevalent mostly in the submontane districts of Gonda, Bahraich, Basti, Gorakhpur, Kheri and everywhere east of the Ghagra river, and appears in

different forms under modified conditions. The Tharns, Chamars, Nats, Doms and Ghoriyas, who are generally landless labourers, form the bulk of Sewak population. The Hariya is a seasonal serf, whereas the Sewak is permanent. Both the Hariya and the Sewak are under a debt bondage, pure and simple. The ordinary sum so given varies from Rs. 20/- to Rs. 100/- according to the needs of the borrower, which, it must be noted, multiplies to an enormous amount due to an exorbitant rate of interest. The Hariya can liberate himself any time after paying off his debt, but the bondage of the Sewak is hereditary, passing on to his children down to the remotest generation. It is quite common to meet labourers, whose forefathers entered into these obligations, and who still labour in their discharge, although well aware that they can discard them and be free to sell their labour in the open market. The serfs, however, never receive cash, and their grain pittance never exceeds their bare requirements, lest they should repay their debt and be lost to their master. Even when cash wages are received, they are never in a position to pay more than the interest during the year.

The Hurwahees and Baramasiyas of North Bihar.—The lowest depth of serfdom is touched by the Baramasiyas of Bettiah, Motihari, Darbhanga and Pertabganj in North Bihar, who perform whatever menial services are required of them by their masters. They are purely domestic slaves and their serfdom is hereditary, whereas the Hurwahees are bond-servants who work in lieu of the interest due on the loan. The Baramarasiya is given a small pittance, but allowed a hut and the left over food from the master's table. The Hurwahees often receive cash wages (not exceeding 113 of the daily rate), but on account of their extravagance the cash is utilized in drinks and feasts, and often the labour of women and children is pledged for paltry sums.

The Chakars and Muliya of Orissa.—The

Muliyas are evidently the descendants of the forest races by whom the uplands of Orissa were inhabited before the Aryan conquest. At present there are three kinds of Muliyas: (a) *Nitmajur*, whose social position is *de-facto* that of a slave. He is a hereditary slave. He gets food and clothing from his master and works as a domestic slave. (b) *Naga*, who is also a slave, but of higher status and works on the field of his master. At harvest time he sleeps on the field to watch over the crops. He seldom receives cash wages, but in addition to the customary grain allowance he gets a strip from his master's land (20-25 decimals) which he cultivates for himself. (c) *Danda*, who is a seasonal serf, hired usually for sowing or harvesting season, and paid in kind.

The Kamias of Chota Nagpur :—The Kamias are bond servants of their masters. In return for a loan received, they bind themselves and often their generations, to perform whatever menial services are required of them in lieu of the interest due on the loan. Such loans are usually borrowed at times of economic distress or social necessity. It is usually the poor labourers and low caste agriculturists who are victimised by those rich and high caste ryots and landlords who do not care to do the actual cultivation themselves. In Chota Nagpur, owing to the presence of a large aboriginal and depressed caste population, the Kamia system has become a common feature of rural economy. The term Kamia stands for the fourfold characteristics of an agricultural labourer :—

(a) A field worker whose labour is exacted by force.

(b) A working client of the mahajan-cum-landlord master.

(c) A farm hand whose duties are varied and many, and without whom the 'Sir' land of the landlord may lie uncultivated.

(d) A sweated class of worker, underfed and mentally stunted, and regarded by their masters as little better than human chattel.

The Kamia is too valuable to be ill-

treated, and his master always anxiously looks after his health and welfare, and provides him with at least the bare necessities of life. The chief diet of the Kamia consists of coarse rice and dal. His wife and children also get clothes and a free house attached to a *makan-bari* plot. The Kamia never has any money, and the restrictions imposed on his movement render him not better than a slave. An absconding Kamia can hardly find asylum anywhere in the district, because the landlords, as a class, combine to maintain the system and return to his master any Kamia taking shelter in their village. A *Kamiauti* bond, therefore, involves a life sentence. Many Kamias have, however, run away to the mining centres at Giridih and Kodarma and liberated themselves from their cruel and unsympathetic masters. The Kamia population comprises of the semi-primitive tribes, such as the Mundas, Oraons, Bhuiyas, Dusadhs, Kols, Santals, Ghatwars and a large number of other aboriginal castes. Big zamindars command a large number of Kamias because their prestige is measured by the number of their retinue. The social position, befitting zamindars, can not be maintained by many of the small zamindars if the Kamia system is suppressed and serfdom abolished.

Agrestic serfdom is most commonly associated with conditions of socio-economic nature. These conditions are not peculiar to certain backward provinces of Northern India, but are characteristic of all regions where the agricultural population has been dissociated from modern social and economic changes in the country. A systematic and detailed study of this time-honoured institution in India leads us to the following conclusions :—

(a) Agrestic serfdom is a common feature of those places where the low castes and depressed orders are most numerous. The ethnic composition of the village greatly determines the social and economic status of the people and is responsible for the

survival of these conditions. Whether in the capacity of the slave, a serf, or a beggar, at present more than five crores of people in India suffer both socially and economically on account of the stigma of untouchability attached to them. In Bihar and Orissa, about one-sixth of the total population (i.e. 7½ millions) belongs to 24 purest aboriginal and 17 semi-aboriginal tribes. Besides these, more than 6½ millions belong to the depressed classes. Roughly speaking one-third of the total population of Bihar and Orissa is composed of semi-serf, depressed and exterior castes. In Chota Nagpur this class accounts for 65 to 85 per cent of the total population. The Kamia population is composed of those aboriginal tribes and depressed castes which are lazy and careless, and are content with a dole of food and a house to live in and, so long as these are not denied, consider it an honour to relish the crumbs from their masters' tables.

(b) Serfdom is an evil of the Zamindari system. In districts where there is landlord tenancy over big estates, and Zamindari is under the Brahmins, Thakurs, Rajputs, Pathans and other high castes, the system has gathered enormous strength. Wherever the original population was subdued by foreign immigrants, who, though financially powerful, were unable to cultivate the land themselves on account of the natural conditions of soil and water supply, a regular supply of labour became imperative for the cultivation of the landlord's 'Sir' land, and to assist the agents of an absentee landlord.

(c) Serfdom is almost entirely associated with indebtedness. The mahajan has always exploited the miserable plight of the poor peasantry and reduced them to eternal serfdom. Since the Kamia population is composed of migratory tribes, in whose hands neither the principal debt is secure nor a guarantee of regular labour supply obtainable, they have to be pinned to the estate and their wanderlust broken.

The existence of the Kamia system is

both a social and an economic menace and, in these days of considerable freedom, widened economic outlook, social upheaval and a strong central Government, it tells on the whole social and administrative machinery of a progressive country. Though social and legislative measures are being taken to eradicate this evil, yet a more vigorous and determined move is required to abolish an old custom that preys upon the very life of the man behind the plough.

Under British Rule slavery was not abolished at once, but only gradually. The existence of the institution of slavery in the latter half of the 18th century was brought to light by Jesuit Missionaries in Chota Nagpur. These missionaries took an active interest in the temporal interests of their converts, and lent a sympathetic ear to the complaints of the aborigines about the heavy load of praedial services and the cruelties and injustices to which they were subjected in the capacity of slaves. In 1774 legal measures were taken in the Bhagalpur District (Bihar), and 1789 Lord Cornwallis despatched instructions to the collector of Shahabad as to the manner in which he should determine cases of slavery.

On the basis of the Minute of Sir Buchanan, more effective measures were taken in the Government of India's Regulation X of 1811, prohibiting the importation of slaves from foreign countries into the British territories. This rule was, by Regulation III of 1832, extended to the Provinces which subsequently came into the possession of the British Government. Later on, Act V of 1843 prohibited all Government officers from recognizing slavery, and it was finally abolished in 1860 by the I. P. C. which declared the equality of all men and provided punishment for buying or selling any person as a slave.

In spite of these legal measures this evil custom continued to flourish in a modified form known as Kamianti (debt-bondage), in remote rural areas of Northern India. In 1872 Hunter found that the

system was a universal feature of the rural economy of Chota Nagpur. In 1908 Sifton observed its detrimental growth in Hazaribagh, and in 1913 Bridges submitted a report to the Government of Bihar and Orissa sounding the dangers of a growing menace of slavery in the Province. It was on these findings that the Government of Bihar and Orissa passed the "B & O. Kamiauti Agreement Act VIII of 1920", which declared that such agreements were void, unless (a) the full terms of the agreements were expressed in a stamped document; (b) the Kamia was given a copy of this document; (c) the period of the agreement exceeded or could possibly exceed one year; (d) the Kamia's liability was completely extinguished on the expiry of the term of the agreement; (e) the Kamia's remuneration under the agreement was fair and equitable.

But the Kamiauti Agreements Act of 1920 did not prove effective in suppressing the abuse. The master-landlords proved too elusive in getting round the legal restrictions. Moreover, the Act did not apply to agreements entered into by 'skilled workmen', so that the old Kamianti conditions still applied to labour rendered by such persons as Chamars.

All legal measures have so far proved ineffective to suppress this system of serfdom completely. And thus the matter at present stands. But no legislation can ever become fruitful unless the people for whom it is formulated consciously strive to make the best of it. In this particular case, legislation preceded the economic and social uplift of the serf population, a policy nothing short of putting the cart before the horse. As a temporary measure, when such special legislation is enforced, the Government should provide new lands by reclamation for the discharged serfs in the same vicinity, or provide facilities for emigration to industrial districts. In the case of the extension of cultivation, the tendency of land hitherto uncultivated

should be offered to the Khunt-Kattidar and not to the holder of adjoining cultivated land, as has been the practice in the past. Otherwise the landless labourers will have no chance of settling down as peasant proprietors.

Legislation, in order to be effective, must cover all the problems directly or indirectly associated with the system of serfdom. There is an urgent need for a new Anti-Kamianti Act which should be based on the following considerations:—

(a) Almost all forms of agrestic serfdom take their root in indebtedness. When the yoke of the moneylender becomes unbearably heavy, and indebtedness assumes a chronic form, the plight of the derelict farm-hand is nothing short of serfdom. Therefore, neither the principal debt nor the interest accrued thereon, should be repayable in services.

(b) No landlord should have more 'Sir' land than he can cultivate himself with family assistance. (The U. P. Government has now limited the 'Sir' to 50 acres).

(c) All praedial services (Begar) and illegal dues (Rukumats) should be commuted into cash.

(d) There should be a strict regulation of the hours and conditions of work.

(e) The employment of agricultural serfs should be considered a penal offence.

The Kamias are gradually emerging from the state of serfdom to that of free labour. But the improvement in their social status is very slow. This is due to their ignorance, improvidence and disinclination to fight their own battle. Whenever they have shown signs of independence, they have been subjected to most inhuman atrocities by their masters—their lands have been taken away, their house and property confiscated and their families mercilessly beaten. The acquirement of servile dispositions after generations of toil and labour by the serf population, has developed a character which cannot be modified by a stroke of the pen. Legislation, therefore, cannot immediately be a cure but only act

as a palliative. The real cure lies in the improvement of the lot of these wretched classes, the diffusion of elementary education, and above all the creation of a strong public opinion by patient toil in the right direction.

Viewed in a correct perspective, the problem of agrestic serfdom in India is essentially one of justice and humanity. It requires a complete readjustment of social conditions of the depressed orders of humanity who suffer from numerous disabilities, injustices and cruelties on account of their birth. This state of affairs cannot be defended on grounds of equity or true religion. Indians who are striving for national freedom ought not to deny just treatment to a section of their own countrymen. They must remember that in the struggle for national freedom and social emancipation a country cannot efficiently work in sections.

At present more than five crores of the entire population of this country belong to the so-called exterior castes and depressed classes. There can be no denying the fact that most, almost all, of these classes labour under disabilities only on account of the stigma attached to their castes. These down-trodden classes have developed a deleterious inferiority complex on account of the time-worn custom which has consigned them to their present degraded conditions. They have to rest content with whatever little opportunities are allowed them to develop their full stature. Under the circumstances,

pinned as they are under the weight of heavy chains of prejudice and usage of long times, their existence acts as a drag on the body politic.

The salvation of India as a whole must be preceded by the solution of this grave problem which has of late attracted the attention both of the politician and the reformer. Everywhere, throughout the world, attempts are being made to ameliorate the plight of the poor. The humanitarian efforts of Mahatma Gandhi and the Christian missionary institutions in India in the cause of Harijans have been noteworthy. Whatever motives may be attributed to the uplift of the depressed, one fact stands out prominent, namely, the present national awakening in India is entirely due to the realization of the spirit of freedom amongst the lower strata of humanity. It would perhaps not be far wrong to say that those who make the allegation that the movement for the uplift of the depressed classes is due to the political motives (e. g. with Mahatma Gandhi), or religious motives (e. g. with Christian Missionaries) are themselves victims of such motives in making this assertion. Whatever may be said, it is the bounden duty of every true Indian to do everything in his or her power to wipe out the stain of untouchability from the country, eschewing every idea of exploiting the miserable plight of these unfortunate human beings for communal or political ends.

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Tata Institute of Social Sciences*

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR FOR THE ACADEMIC YEARS 1942-44

AS Director of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, I have the honour to present the following brief Report for the Academic Years 1942-44.

The period under review has been the most eventful so far in the life of our Institute. The academic year started in June 1942 with about 30 new students. It was a time more or less characterised by inflation, war neurosis and general instability. In addition, the atmosphere was tense with talks and discussions portending a tremendous political struggle. What followed in August and later is so vividly present in our minds that I need not recapitulate the events which shook the country from one end to the other. The political situation constituted therefore the major factor which assailed and disintegrated the academic life of the country. Like other institutions, we too could not escape its impact. Though we lost some of our students, the work of the institution continued undisturbed.

In October 1942, the appointment of Dr. (Miss) Cama, the Psychologist and Research Assistant as the Presidency Magistrate of the Bombay Juvenile Court deprived our Institute of a talented and efficient Member of the staff. In spite of our loss, it was with pleasure that we parted with her as her appointment strengthened the bond which already existed between the Juvenile Court and our Institute. At that time we little thought that we were destined to suffer even a greater loss in the immediate future. The most unexpected and sudden death of Dr. P. M. Titus about the end of November left the Institute bereft of one of the most popular and beloved of its faculty members. In him we have lost a dear and understanding friend and the Institute has lost a member whose own personality and character

was just being woven deeply into its texture. As an expression of their appreciation of his services, the present graduating class has presented to the Institute an enlarged portrait of the late Dr. Titus to perpetuate his memory. I take this opportunity to pay my warm tribute to his memory and place on record his able and unstinted services to our Institute.

These losses, happening as they did, within a month of each other and in the middle of the academic year, put a heavy strain on the few remaining members of the faculty. By carrying additional teaching load, the staff helped to complete the academic year without any serious dislocation.

It was at this critical time that the expansion and reorganization of the Institute was planned and undertaken. During its brief span of life, I am thankful to say, it has stimulated a general interest in professional education for social work. The present war has brought about great social changes, and there is no doubt that it will continue to do so in an increasing measure in the remaining years. In the post-war period we will be called upon to play, in the field of social reconstruction, a role even more important than has been ours in the past. Since our Institute holds an enviable position among schools of professional education, it was felt necessary to prepare ourselves for even more progressive leadership by planning ahead.

New Appointments.—With the sanction of the Trustees, four new appointments were made to the faculty. Dr. K. Motwani, Dr. M. V. Moorthy, Mr. V. S. Abhyankar and Mr. K. C. Mookerjee joined duty on the 1st of May 1943. This made it possible for us to take a few steps forward in increasing the usefulness of the Institute. To begin with, we decided to try out annual admissions.

* The Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work was renamed in April 1944 as the Tata Institute of Social Sciences.

Till then our admissions were only once in two years. The growing demand for graduates of the Institute encouraged us to undertake this new venture. Hence we admitted a Junior Class in June 1943 but restricted the admission to a small number owing to insufficient classroom accommodation and inadequate hostel facilities. The Junior Class consists of 13 students and their geographical distribution is as follows:—

Travancore, 2; Cochin, 1; Madras, 1; Central Provinces, 1; Broach, 2; Hubli, 1; and Bombay, 5.

Field-work Centres.—At the time the Institute was founded, it was difficult to find suitable field-work facilities for our students. But now several agencies, which have employed our own graduates to run their services on modern lines, are co-operating with us in providing field-work centres. The Children's Aid Society, the Government Labour Welfare Department, the Welfare Department of the Municipal Corporation, the Society for the Protection of Children in Western India, Sir Ratan Tata Welfare Centre and the Bombay Presidency Released Prisoners' Aid Society—all generously co-operate with us in providing field-work facilities to our students.

In addition to these centres, the Institute entered into an agreement last November with the authorities of the American Marathi Mission to take over some of the activities of the Nagpada Neighbourhood House in order to provide opportunities for our students to have experience of social work and administration under the guidance of faculty members. The scope of the activities undertaken have been extended and new activities have been introduced. In spite of the short time at our disposal, the progress, though not spectacular, has been steady and useful. The activities are conducted through five committees, one on Child Welfare, the other on Youth Welfare, another on Women's Welfare, the fourth on Education and the last, the General Council, to coordinate the various activities. All

these consist of students and the faculty members. Though now we have ample scope for field work, the problem of giving sufficient time for it along with classroom work still remains a problem. Experiments are being made to find a satisfactory solution.

The Child Guidance Clinic.—In addition to the training of social workers, the Institute is maintaining a Child Guidance Clinic which was brought into being some seven years ago in order, first, to serve our students as a laboratory where they could gain practical experience in working with problem children referred to the Clinic by different agencies and also learn to diagnose and treat such cases. And, secondly, to provide guidance and treatment to juveniles with personality difficulties. The report on the working of the Clinic during the years 1942-44 is given below as presented by Dr. K. R. Masani, its Director and Psychiatrist:—

The Child Guidance Clinic of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences was started in 1937—the first of its kind in the Bombay Presidency. It was started for the children of the poorer classes and therefore as a free Clinic, on an experimental basis, with due regard to the fact that social conditions being different in our country from those existing in Europe and America, a number of special difficulties would have to be overcome and many modifications employed in the actual running of the Clinic. Although it has been found necessary to employ certain modifications based on differences of language and culture, the results of about seven years of work have shown that the same fundamental approach to the problem yields satisfactory results and that the difficulties of running the Clinic, though greater on account of the low standard of education of the parents as also on account of the multiplicity of languages spoken, are not significantly more numerous than in countries with Western culture.

The Child Guidance Clinic of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences is a Clinic for

the scientific study and treatment of children suffering from various behaviour, personality, habit and scholastic disorders as also those physical symptoms or medical disorders when these are due to emotional causes.

The following few examples indicate some of the different types of children dealt with :—

“B” a boy of 6 was referred to the Clinic for mischief and restlessness by the Principal of a progressive school. The parents also complained that this mischief at home was intolerable.

“C” a girl of 13 was referred from a residential institution for obstinacy and attempting to commit suicide.

The Clinic does not accept mental defectives for treatment but these are often brought by parents or sent by agencies for mental testing. Mild cases of mental defect, are admitted, especially when there are superadded emotional difficulties.

The aims and objects of the Clinic may be stated as follows :—

(1) To provide the community with a coordinated team of trained workers in the field of Pediatrics, Psychiatry, Psychology and Social Work for the purpose of study and treatment of children presenting behaviour, personality, habit and scholastic problems as also disturbances of physical functioning when these are due to emotional or psychological causes.

(2) To assist in the development of mental hygiene techniques and concepts through such study and experience.

(3) Through formal courses of lectures seminars and through talks and informal lectures to transmit the results of such study to parents, teachers, and social case workers, such as prohibition officers, and especially to students in training at the Tata Institute of Social Sciences—physicians and others who are intimately connected with the care and upbringing of children.

Clinic Procedure.—When a case is referred to the Clinic a general idea of the

problem for which the child is sent is first obtained by the Psychiatric Social Worker from the parent or person accompanying the child. The Psychiatric Social Worker obtains a detailed social and developmental history from the parents and guardians of the child. The Pediatrist conducts a thorough physical examination of the child. The physical examination makes it possible to detect cases whose problems are caused or complicated by organic disturbances.

The Psychologist administers mental tests to each child to ascertain its mental capacities—this estimate being necessary for a proper understanding of the child's difficulties. If the results show gross mental deficiency the case is not accepted for treatment, as the clinic endeavours to limit its activities to the problems of children of average intelligence. Children showing only a slight degree of mental defect are accepted.

The Play-room Supervisor supervises the play-room activities and is in charge of the general management of the play-room, which consists of allotting children to the playroom workers for observation, collecting reports written by the play-room workers and obtaining the necessary equipment required for the playroom.

The Psychiatrist observes the child during play, and through such observation, and verbal contacts with the child during play, acquires an insight into the emotional factors which are mainly or partly responsible for the problem. The Psychiatrist is considerably helped in this diagnosis of the nature of the emotional factors by reports from the play-room workers of their observations of the child's play, carried out during the play contact they make with the child.

Formulation of a Treatment Programme.—The different sets of facts regarding the child gathered in these ways by the Psychiatric Social Worker, the Pediatrist, the Psychologist and the Psychiatrist are coordinated and evaluated during the discussions, with a view to arrive at as complete and detailed a diagnosis of the

nature of the problem as possible, and a treatment programme is then planned. The progress of the case is followed and changes are made from time to time according to the individual needs of each case.

Educational Activities.—Apart from the Clinical activities, a certain amount of educational activity has been indulged in during this period. Mr. M. V. Amrith, member of the Indian Psychoanalytical Association, was accorded facilities for psychiatric fellowship training for a year at the Clinic. Recently the Government of Ceylon deputed one of their fully qualified senior psychiatrists to visit and study child guidance organization and methods at our Clinic. Also, during this period all the Health Visitors studying at the Indian Health Visitors' Institute, Bombay, have been deputed to undergo practical training in child guidance and mental health and disorders of children by attending regularly our Child Guidance Clinic for two months. The Clinic was similarly attended mainly for practical training as also for discussion-seminars, by the Play Centre Organizers of the Balkan-ji-Bari, one of the outstanding agencies in India interested in child welfare activities with particular interest in organized recreational activities for children. Likewise, a short course of practical and theoretical child guidance training was given, at the request of the Bombay Government, to a batch of government probation officers.

Frequently requests were also made for arranging displays of child guidance work at exhibitions held by child welfare and public health agencies, and stalls of the Child Guidance Clinic of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences were arranged at the exhibitions on child health and child welfare organized by the Bombay Women's Association, the Bombay Sanitary Association and Health Department of the Bombay Municipality. Numerous visitors visited the Clinic throughout the period, for acquainting themselves with the work of the Clinic.

The Clinic has continued to be attended by students in training at the Tata Institute of Social Sciences and has acted as a centre for field work training, the students acquainting themselves with the techniques of Child Guidance and helping in the observation of children's play activities.

During the period under consideration, the Clinic was unfortunate in losing the services of Dr. Miss K. Cama, who was Psychologist at the Clinic, but it was a consolation to know that her considerable talents and abilities were being utilized as Presidency Magistrate of the Juvenile Court, Bombay. Subsequently, Mr. K. C. Mookerjee has taken over the work of Clinic Psychologist. In view of the increased case load of the Clinic, Miss L. Kulkarni, a graduate of the Tata School was appointed to assist Mrs. Renu as social worker to the Clinic.

We have been very fortunate in having had the honorary and voluntary services of Mr. S. K. Powvala, Mrs. T. Kamdar, Miss S. Aibara and others who have assisted in the work of the Clinic and our heartfelt thanks are due to them as also to Mr. Amrith who after his fellowship training has continued to help in the work of the Clinic in a purely honorary capacity. Our thanks are also due to Dr. George Coelho, M.B., M.R.C.P. (Lond.), Hon. Pediatrist, B. J. Hospital for Children, and to Dr. R. V. Sanzgiri, M.R.C.P. (Edin.), M.R.C.S. (Eng.), F.C.P.S., Hon. Pediatrist, The Jerbai Wadia Hospital for Children, who very kindly gave freely of their time and services as Hon. Consulting Pediatrists whenever children were referred to them for expert pediatric guidance. Finally, our heartfelt thanks are due to the Trustees for making it possible to maintain the Clinic and to run it on proper, scientific lines.

Bureau of Research and Publications.—Coming to the Bureau of Research and Publications, I am glad to report steady and uniform progress. The Bureau was brought into being only in 1942. At present the most important work of the Bureau

is the publication of our Quarterly, *The Indian Journal of Social Work*, which was started in 1940. We completed the fourth year of its publication. It is gratifying to report that its circulation is now double of what it was in 1942. While at a time it circulated only in a handful of Indian States, it now finds its way into fifty Indian States. So also it has a fairly wide circulation in the Provinces of British India. As usual, the government departments of Education, Public Health, Information, Prisons and Jails, Industries, Labour etc., are on our subscribers' list. Apart from these, a fairly representative and influential body of citizens all over India are patronizing our Journal.

Since the articles which appear in the Quarterly are usually written by recognized authorities, we have adopted the practice of reprinting useful and valuable articles in order to secure for them a wider reading public and, at the same time, make them available to those who cannot afford to subscribe for the Journal. In the year 1942-43 some 1,500 copies of reprints were sold. Unfortunately, owing to shortage of paper we have not been able to meet the increasing demand for reprints during 1943-44.

Another of our ventures is in the field of publishing books. "Mobilizing Social Services in Wartime"—our first volume under the auspices of the Bureau—was brought out in 1943. It has been very well received and reviewed. The second book, which is now in the press, is a symposium on "Our Beggar Problem," and will be out within a few weeks. This is a small beginning but in the right direction.

In organizing the Research Bureau, our ambition is to coordinate social theory and social practice, to base work on principles, to illustrate principles with work. Therefore one of our main objects, apart from giving professional education for social work, is to encourage social research. As part requirement for the Diploma in Social Service

Administration of our Institute, we require students to work on a research project to familiarize them with the techniques of social investigation. It is gratifying to note that our Institute stood first in research bearing on labour in the year 1943-44. According to the figures published by the Indian Labour Gazette (Nov. 1943) the Morris College, Nagpur, conducted one research project in 1943; the Madras University, one; the Calcutta University, three; and the Tata Institute 7. We hope in coming years to do even better in the field of social research.

Research Scholarships.—A student with aptitude for research finds the time too short to put out his research in a form worthy of publication. In order to encourage the student who has research ability to carry forward his social investigation under the guidance of the faculty after graduation, two Research Scholarships have been instituted, known as the Sir Dorabji Tata Research Scholarships, each of the value of Rs. 1,200 available for one year and the amount to be paid in instalments of Rs. 100/- per month.

The Trustees have awarded, on the recommendation of the faculty, one of the Sir Dorabji Tata Research Scholarships to Dr. (Miss) G. R. Banerjee for the year 1944-45. She took up for her thesis a study of "Rescue Homes for Women in Bombay." This investigation has led her to feel that such a study should be made of all rescue work carried on in India. While there are many institutions to protect women in moral danger, no attempt has yet been made to coordinate the work of the different private and public agencies, to attack the problem on an all-India basis and to plan a general policy of work based on scientific principles of reclamation and rehabilitation. To draw up a scheme for this purpose, it is necessary to collect complete information of the amount and nature of work done by the various agencies. With this end in view Dr. Banerjee

proposes to make a survey of all rescue homes for fallen women in India. Her plan therefore includes visits to all the important cities. This is the first time an investigation of this type is undertaken on an all-India basis. We wish her the best of success in this important and useful work she has undertaken in the interest of these unfortunate women.

Dr. Moorthy's Research Tour.—There is a growing appreciation of the problems connected with labour sociology. The Government of India has already taken up for consideration a few of the urgent labour problems, and with the meetings of the Tripartite Conference and Committees the need for investigation and research into the human aspects of labour is being almost popularly felt. Attention has definitely shifted from the machine to the man. This situation is creating a need for a vast band of social workers equipped with the principles of labour sociology and trained in the art of their application. The demand for such workers will be greatly increased in the post-war period.

With a view to meet the demand that is sure to be made on us for competent social workers in post-war years, especially in the labour field, and also to expand the curriculum of our Institute, some additions were made last year to the faculty. Dr. Moorthy, one of the junior members, is specializing in labour problems so that in the near future studies in labour problems could be offered as a separate course. Labour welfare is one of the important labour problems. Though several industrial concerns are doing something in the way of promoting labour welfare in the different parts of India, and though there is an increasing interest in welfare work, no systematic study has yet been made of labour welfare on an all-India basis. In the interest of labour in general and of the Institute in particular, it was decided to undertake the organization of available data on labour welfare on an all-India scale. This, it is hoped, would serve

the double purpose of supplying our own students a comprehensive knowledge of fact and techniques of welfare work carried on in different parts of our country and in different industries, and of the distinctive aspects which have developed to meet regional requirements. Secondly, it would enable us to embody the findings of this research in an authoritative book on labour welfare which, it is hoped, would be an outstanding contribution to our knowledge of labour problems. Such a work would also be of great help to all those who are engaged in post-war planning for labour.

To this end Dr. Moorthy was sent out on an investigation tour. His tour covered the following industrial centres: Jamshedpur, Calcutta, Delhi, Cawnpore, Nagpur, Ahmedabad, Sholapur, Bangalore, Madras, Coimbatore, Cochin, Madura and Bombay. In all these places he contacted labour welfare organizers, collected first-hand information about labour welfare work and also acquainted himself with the technique of welfare work adopted in these centres.

Graduate Fellowships for Foreign Study.—In the post-war period, private agencies, provincial governments and universities will demand high grade organizers and administrators of social services. To hold positions of responsibility and leadership, our graduates will need the advantages of foreign study. In coming years social services will become increasingly a function of the State. Each provincial government will find it necessary to have a department of public welfare administration. Our universities are also beginning to recognize that social work is an indispensable study and should be taught along with Sociology. The Central Advisory Board of Education has already recommended that training in social service should be given in the undergraduate stage in order to stimulate an interest in social work. But universities and colleges are unable to do anything in the matter for lack of teaching personnel adequately trained in social work.

To meet such demands and to enable

our own graduates to fill higher posts of responsibility in the many important fields of post-war reconstruction programmes, the Trustees have agreed to consider our own graduates with outstanding organizing capacity, mental maturity, sound health and good character for the award of foreign scholarships if recommended by the Director of the Tata Institute.

Our Students' Achievements.—While the year 1942 was characterized by political disturbance, the year 1943 was marked by famines and food shortage. Our students showed keen interest in helping the areas affected by famine. In view of their studies and other duties, it was not possible for them to express their deep sympathy with the sufferers in any other way than in raising funds for the famine stricken areas. Our past and present students helped the National Council of Women in making door to door collections. Of the total amount raised by our institution, Miss Leela Kulkarni alone was responsible for collecting Rs. 2,800/- for the starving poor of Bengal by her untiring efforts.

Among the distinctions won by our alumni during the period under report, the one which deserves special mention is the winning of the much coveted Vincent Massey Scholarship for 1943-44 by Mr. P. S. Anant Narayan of the Class of 1940. The Scholarship is of the value of 2,000 dollars, inclusive of all expenses, for post graduate studies at the University of Toronto, Canada. Since his graduation from our Institute, Mr. Anant Narayan has been serving as Labour Officer in the Tata Oil Mills' factories both in Cochin and Bombay. While in Canada, he will carry on advanced work in the line of his studies in our Institute with Special reference to Industrial Psychology and Personnel Administration. Among the factors which influence the selection of Mr. Anant Narayan, an important one was the work he had done in our Institute. We are proud of Mr. Anant Narayan and we offer him our hearty congratulations.

During the last two years we have noticed an ever-growing interest in social services and an increasing recognition of the need for scientific training for social work. Our universities are conscious of the need for providing undergraduate training in social work and have been trying to work out ways and means of doing so ; private agencies are experimenting in organizing short term training courses. The requests for information and guidance we have received during the past two years from such bodies clearly indicate that our Institute is recognized as a premier one of its kind. Before drawing up a scheme for a training course for Labour Officers, the Calcutta University wrote to us for information regarding the budget of the Institute organization of our courses etc. The Indore State deputed one of its officers to study the working of our Institute in order to organize a short term course for students in Colleges. Similarly, the Udaipur State deputed an officer to consult us with regard to offering a summer course to teachers in training. The Ceylon Government applied through the Bombay Government for information regarding the training of Probation Officers. These are but a few of the services we are called upon to render, and they are an index of the position we hold in this particular field.

In this Report I have only referred rather briefly to some of the new features and achievements of the Institute during the period under review, as a fuller Report is not possible owing to the present Paper Control (Economy) Order. In conclusion, I may say that we look on our past achievements with pride and look at the tasks still before us with faith and hope. Now it only remains for me to add that all these accomplishments could not have been achieved but for the sympathetic co-operation and creative vision of our Trustees. Our thanks, therefore, are due to them. I should also like to thank the members of the faculty for their loyalty and ever-willing co-operation.

TATA INSTITUTE NOTES

OUR NEW STUDENTS

CLASS OF '46

The students who have been admitted to the Junior Class are :—

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Bharucha, Miss D. D.
B.A., Bombay University, 1944,
Bombay. | 14. Malhotra, Miss Raj
B.A., Punjab University, 1944,
Delhi. |
| 2. Chondhury, S. B.
B.Sc., Rangoon University, 1938,
Myitkyina, Burma. | 15. PanA'kal, J. J.
B.Sc., Madras University, 1943,
Ernakulam, Cochin. |
| 3. Deodhar, L. D.
B.A., Bombay University, 1944,
T.D., „ „ 1941,
Belgaum, Bombay Presidency. | 16. Panikker, P. T. B.
B.Sc., Madras University, 1941,
Madras. |
| 4. Engineer, Miss K. M.
B.A., Bombay University, 1944,
Bombay. | 17. Paul, K.
B.A., Travancore University, 1942,
Travancore. |
| 5. Heble, Mrs. M. K.
B.A., Bombay University, 1940,
Bombay. | 18. Roy, B. K.
B.Sc., Calcutta University, 1941,
Akyab, Burma. |
| 6. Jayakrishnadas, Miss U. N.
B.A., Bombay University, 1942,
Ahmedabad. | 19. Sambashivan, K. S.
B.A., Madras University, 1944,
Ernakulam, Cochin. |
| 7. Kamath, P. V.
B.A., Madras University, 1941,
LL.B., Bombay University, 1943,
Karkala, Mangalore. | 20. Sharma, Miss V.
B.A., Delhi University, 1944,
Delhi. |
| 8. Katticaran, G. J.
B.A., Madras University, 1941,
Ernakulam, Cochin. | 21. Sidhwa, Miss D. M.
B.A., Bombay University, 1944,
Bombay. |
| 9. Khan, M. B.
B.A., Osmania University, 1940,
M.A., „ „ 1942,
Hyderabad, Dn. | 22. Sud, Miss S. D.
B.Sc., Punjab University, 1944,
Hoshiarpur, Punjab. |
| 10. Khanderia, Miss J. G.
B.A., Bombay University, 1944,
Junagadh, Kathiawar. | 23. Thomas, P. T.
B.A., Travancore University, 1943,
Travancore. |
| 11. Kulkarni, P. D.
B.Sc., Nagpur University, 1943,
Malwa, Ujjain, C. I. | 24. Zachariah, K. A.
B.A., Travancore University, 1944,
Thalavady, Travancore. |
| 12. Krishnamachary, S.
B.A. (Hons.), Madras University, 1944,
Hyderabad, Dn. | 25. Marr, Miss Phyllis
B.A., Punjab University, 1942,
Batala, Punjab. |
| 13. Lakdawalla, Miss K. A.
B.A., Agra University, 1939,
M.A., „ „ 1943,
Indore, C.I. | |

Non-Diploma Students

- | |
|--|
| 26. Chinniah, Miss M.
Jaffna, Ceylon. |
| 27. Mukerjee, A. K.
Moulmein, Burma. |
| 28. Sethna, Mrs. M. M.
Bombay. |

APPENDIX

TATA INSTITUTE CHILD GUIDANCE CLINIC

STATISTICAL REPORT OF CASES FOR THE PERIOD 1942-1944

	1942-43			1943-44		
	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls
Cases carried over from the						
Previous year	25	20	5	26	18	8
New Cases	136	103	3	109	71	38
Old Cases reopened	3	1	2	3	3	Nil
Total Case Load for						
1942-1943, 1944	164	124	40	138	95	48
Total attendance at the Clinic						
for the year	1417	...	...	1454	...	...
Total number of Clinic days.	89	...	...	88	...	...
Average attendance per Clinic						
day	15'92	...	...	16'52	...	...

TYPE OF SERVICE CLASSIFICATION

	Cases carried over		Cases reopened		New Cases		Total	
	1942-43	1943-44	1942-43	1943-44	1942-43	1943-44	1942-43	1943-44
Full Clinic Service	19	21	2	...	39	41	62	62
Co-operative ,,	5	5	1	...	7	5	13	10
Special ,,	1	Nil	Nil	...	90	66	91	66
	25	26	3	...	136	112	164	138

SOURCES OF REFERRAL OF NEW CASES DURING THE PERIOD 1942-44

AGENCIES—

Social Agencies (97).

Juvenile Court, Bombay (47), Byramji Jeejibhoy Home (13), Parsi Panchayet (8), Others (29).

Medical and Health Agencies (81).

J. J. & B. J. Hospitals (38), Private Physicians (27), Wadia Hospital (11), Others (4).

Schools (9).

Parents, Relatives and others (60).

TYPES OF PROBLEMS REFERRED DURING THE PERIOD 1942-44

Behaviour and personality disorders.

Stealing (15), Truancy (14), Unmanageableness (12), Mischief (10), Obstinacy (8), Queer Behaviour (3), Shyness (2), Fits of Depression (2), Lying (2), Exhibitionism (1), Disobedience (1), No interest in Games (1), Loss of Memory (1), Nervousness (1), Disinterestedness in Life (1), General Backwardness (1), Irrelevant Talk (1), Thumb Sucking (1), Suspected Psychoses (1), Night Terrors (1), Greediness (1),

Bullying (1), Boasting (1), Aversion to Games (1), Incessant Crying (1), Inability to mix with other children (1), Bouts of Irritability (1), Outbursts of Violence (1), Obsessional interest in sex (1), Excitability (1), Eccentricity (1), Cruelty to Animals (1), Suggestibility (1), Destructiveness (1), Restlessness (1), Fear (1), Attempted Suicide (1).

Habit disorders.

Bedwetting (23), Speech defect (13).

Educational problems.

No interest in studies (6), Backwardness in studies (5), Others (2).

Psycho-somatic disorders.

Deaf and Dumb (8), Inability to Speak (7), Fainting Fits (7), Tics (2), Indistinct Speech (2), Pain in Abdomen (2), Difficulty in Breathing (2), Tremors (1), Left Handed (1), Constant Colds (1), Shaking and Jerky Movements of the Body (1), Poor Appetite (1), Inability to Walk (1), Headache (1), Loss of Voice (1), Pain in Chest (1), Pain in Abdomen (1), Lack of Bladder Control (1), Pain in Foot (1), Constant Watering of Eyes (1), Somnambulism (1), Athetoid Movements (1).

Evaluation of full service Cases during the period 1942-44.

	1942-43	1943-44
Total number of full service cases	73	72
Total number of cases which did not attend the Clinic more than twice	11	6
Total number of cases which broke off in the middle of treatment	7	Nil
Total number of cases which received full treatment	55	66

Results of cases which received full treatment at the Clinic during the period 1942-43.

Adjusted (cured or very much improved)	17 or 30'99 per cent.
Partially adjusted (improved)	29 or 52'72 „
Adjusted or partially adjusted	46 or 83'71 „
Not adjusted (no change)	8 or 14'54 „
Too early to judge	1 or 1'81 „

55

ILLUSTRATIVE CASES

"Z" a girl aged 10 was referred to the Clinic by the Pediatrist of the B. J. Hospital for Children for headache, as all investigations including X-ray of the skull and laboratory findings had been found to be negative.

The child's complaints in the mother's own words were, headache, crying at night and occasional talking in sleep. The mother was very much worried about the child's headache because it was there for the last 1½ years and because it did not improve in spite of treatment with medicines for such a long time. The mother appeared to be

very neurotic, given to anxiety, a little illness of the children causing her no end of worry. She seemed to be very anxious and spoke of nothing but the child's shortcomings. The history showed that the headache started 1½ years ago. It came on after returning from school one day when she had fever and vomiting. The fever was not very high and lasted only for a few days. Her bedwetting had stopped only 1 or 2 months previous to this incident (she bedwetted till 8½ years of age). The fever and vomiting stopped but her headache continued. She became very lethargic, developed a

dislike for studies, began rising late in the morning and complained that her headache was very severe and that she was not in a position to attend school. She liked her school and there was no complaint regarding her studies. The mother became very anxious and discontinued her schooling.

The main work consisted in lessening the mother's anxiety by reassuring her that the child's condition was not serious, and could be cured soon. She was also dissuaded from making unfavourable comparisons between the patient and her elder sister. The girl was encouraged to attend school of her own choice, the necessary arrangements being made by the social worker in the way of getting her a scholarship and bus fare, as the family could not afford to spend on her. It was interpreted to her that the headache represented unconscious aggression towards her elder sister turned towards herself and was also a self-punitive measure for the aggression she felt towards her sister as also for evading going to school and for not coming upto the standard her mother expected of her. She was reassured that it would not harm her if she went to school despite her headache. Ever since that time she was able to make proper adjustment at school. Her headache improved and crying at night and talking in her sleep disappeared. The symptoms have not reappeared for the last 6 months.

"B" a girl of 7 years was referred to the Clinic by a family case worker for bedwetting. The mother said that she was also very mischievous and obstinate and pilfered small articles like pencils and so on at school. According to the mother the child had a dry period of two years after the age of 2, but that at the age of 5 she had again started bedwetting, the frequency being twice in one night or at least four to five times a week. Bedwetting started after the birth of her younger brother while mischief, obstinacy and pilfering started a year later when she was sent to school. A mental test showed an intelligence above average. A

study of the case showed the probable causes of the problem to be sibling rivalry, poverty and lack of facilities for proper training in clean habits, favouritism shown by the mother towards siblings, father's lack of interest in the child owing to over work.

The mother was advised to carry out the following instructions which are usually given in cases of bedwetting, i.e., to restrict intake of fluids after 8 p.m., to avoid highly seasoned and fried food and to wake the child up about $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour before the usual time of her wetting the bed.

Attitude therapy, in the nature of asking her to feel the need to show equal love and affection to all the children, was carried on. She co-operated very well. Arrangements to provide the child with the necessary articles which she badly needed at school were made. Individual psycho-therapy of an interpretative type in the nature of explaining to the child the attention seeking motive which made her revert to childish behaviour like bedwetting was carried out.

A month after attending the Clinic, there was a marked improvement in the bedwetting and 6 months later the mother reported that bedwetting had completely stopped. The stealing also stopped but the mother still continues to complain about the mischief.

"R" an orphan boy of 11 from a residential institution was referred by the Juvenile Court for pilfering things indiscriminately and sweets in particular and for untidiness and lack of interest in life in general. The paternal aunt who brought him to the Clinic stated that "R"'s father died when "R" was 4 years old, immediately after which his mother left the boy with the paternal aunt. The mother who had come to leave "R" at the aunt's place at the time took away some valuable things belonging to the aunt's daughters at the time of leaving and after that she had not returned nor had she enquired about her son, and the paternal aunt did not know anything about

her whereabouts. The paternal aunt a gentle and loving woman had kept "R" until he was 7 years old and sent him to the orphanage owing to certain difficulties at home.

Recognising the boy's need for love and attention the Clinic staff took particular care to show keen interest and sympathy for him and making him feel wanted and liked at the Clinic. The social worker visited him frequently at the orphanage as the aunt was too hard worked and could not spare time to visit him. Individual work with the child was carried out by a psycho-analyst in the form of interviews of a psycho-analytical nature with slight modifications with a view to make him aware of the meaning of his stealing which in this case among other factors was stealing of mother's love which had been denied to him. After a few months attendance at the Clinic the principal reported that he was a changed boy in the sense

that he was more cheerful, took interest in games and there had been no stealing incident.

CONSULTATION CASE

"G" a girl of 14 was brought by her brother because she was very obstinate and unreasonable. The Principal of her school who had advised the parents to consult the Clinic, however, felt that the girl was quite alright, but the parents were old fashioned and too strict. Talks with the father to give the girl more independence and to dispel his fear that the girl may go wrong if she were allowed to mix with boys helped him to change his attitude. Contact was also kept up with the Principal of the school who was very sympathetic and co-operative, to give her guidance in dealing with the girl. Later enquiries showed that the girl made a satisfactory adjustment at home, and is at present keeping up the improvement.

Announcement

Owing to the acute shortage of paper the recent Paper Control (Economy) Order, 1944, was brought into force permitting only 30% of the average number of pages published per issue during the preceding year. We are, however, happy to say that the Department of Industries and Civil Supplies, New Delhi, has allowed us a larger quota "in view of the special consideration applicable to the **Indian Journal of Social Work**". We greatly appreciate the favour shown to our Quarterly. By the more economic use of the page space we have managed to give our readers almost as much reading matter as before, although the bulk of the Journal is somewhat reduced.

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PROFESSIONAL ORGANISATION AMONG BEGGARS	By A. C. Bhatia
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AN APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM OF COMMUNAL DISHARMONY	By M. R. A. Baig
SOME OBSERVATIONS ON SOCIAL INSURANCE	By J. H. Thomas
THE BOMBAY LABOUR COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE AT WORK	By Y. D. Mahajan
INFANT MORTALITY AND ITS CONTROL	By B. M. Dubash
A SURVEY OF LANDLESS AGRICULTURAL LABOUREES IN SHENDURJANA BAZAR—A BERAR VILLAGE	By J. V. Bhavé
BEDWETTING—ITS CAUSES AND TREATMENT	By J. O. Murfatia
A PLAN FOR A NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ADULT EDUCATION	By B. H. Mehta
HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE JUVENILE COURT	By J. P. Gupta
THE INDIAN NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES—A PLEA	By K. Motwani
RELIGION AND SOCIAL SERVICES	By S. Radhakrishnan
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Volume V

CONTENTS FOR DECEMBER 1944

Number 3

Industrial Health in India	M. Vasudeva Moorthy	155
New Trends in the Prevention of Crime	P. K. Tarapore	169
Hindu Family and Freudian Theory	M. N. Banerjee	180
Nation-Building Through Physical Education	O. Mohanasundaram	187
Accidents and their Prevention	Krishna Chandra Mookerjee	197
Play-Centres—Their Organisation and Management	B. H. Mehta	204
Tata Institute News		211

Our Contributors

MR. M. N. BANERJEE is Lecturer in Physiology and Physiological Psychology, Calcutta University.

MR. O. MOHANASUNDARAM is Physical Director in the Welfare Department of the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills, Madras.

THE LATE LIET.-COL. P. K. TARAPORE who was a well-known Penologist was Inspector General of Prisons, Burma.

DRS. B. H. MEHTA, M. V. MOORTHY and MR. K. C. MOOKERJEE are on the Faculty of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bombay.

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Industrial Health in India

M. VASUDEVA MOORTHY

WITH the rapid industrialization of our country the problems of labour are coming to the forefront. In the prosecution of the war the contributions of the workers have been so considerable and important as to entitle them and their cause to receive special attention in the planning of the post-war economy. Indeed, it is being increasingly realized that their cause is ultimately the country's cause, and their welfare the nation's welfare. It is to this consciousness that we owe much of our recent progressive industrial legislation regarding disputes, wages, and hours and conditions of work; the appointment of advisory labour personnel in the central and provincial government; the maintenance and periodical publication of industrial statistics; the free training of technicians; the starting of employment exchanges; the enquiries into the possibilities of introducing sickness and health insurance schemes and the undertaking of multifarious other labour welfare activities.

True, some of these programmes are not quite disinterested. Some are due to pure philanthropy while others have their origin in the employers' and the Government's desire to placate labour. It is easy to read capitalist motives in what is obviously a poor man's cause handled by the well-to-do. All legislation and endeavour, even while they are progressive, naturally suffer in repute and goodwill when they emanate from the top. Making every allowance for the errors and prejudices of democratic interpretation, the scientific process stands out bold in the horizon of modern history,—the inevitable process of associating labour and its well-being with the State and its well-being. It is not difficult to forecast the trend of this process. Consciously or unconsciously started, interested or disinterested, from the top or from the bottom, the process is destined to end in the triumph of the worker's

cause. From being the exploited underdog the worker is rising to the status of national distinction and dignity. In this process what will stand him in good stead is his health. To a great extent, the consummation of his cause depends on his optimism springing from his radiant vitality. Indeed all the various programmes and measures for the worker's well-being converge on this one end—the promotion of the health of the worker and his family. The eradication of illness and the infusion of health is the one purpose more than others which agitates the worker, ferments society, and kindles legislation. Labour health is the centre of gravity of most of our social security measures.

Health is commonly misunderstood to mean the absence of ailment. This is a very narrow conception of health. Health is not merely a negative conception implying the absence of illness but is also a positive one involving the presence of vitality in the body and in the mind. A healthy individual is he who can resist disease, has enough energy in him to withstand the strain of a reasonable occupation, can go through life's normal activities without languor and debilitating fatigue. In the light of this definition let us study the problems of the worker's health: (1) What is the state of the worker's health? (2) Why is it what it is? (3) What are the steps taken to ameliorate it? and (4) What more can and ought to be done to improve the health of the worker.

Answering the first question first, we have to confess that in the absence of adequate statistical data it is difficult to write in specific terms about the health of our working population. Nevertheless, since the health of a community is evidenced in its resistance to disease, longevity and efficiency it may not be difficult to arrive at a correct estimate of our worker's health if we study the problem with reference to these three standards or tests.

Longevity.—We do not have special vital statistics regarding industrial labour. But the following table gives a general idea of the birth and death rate in our country compared with other countries and also the comparative expectation of life.

	Birth & Death rate per 1000		Expectation of Life (years)	
	Birth	Death	Male	Female
Canada ...	20.3	9.6	58.96	60.73
U. S. A. ...	17.3	10.6	60.60	64.50
Germany ...	20.3	12.3	59.86	62.81
United Kingdom ...	15.3	12.2	60.18	64.40
Australia ...	17.7	9.9	63.48	67.14
Japan ...	27.0	17.6	46.92	49.63
India ...	33.0	21.8	26.91	26.56

These figures make revealing reading. Compared with other countries the birth rate and the death rate are highest in India. As regards expectation of life we have the lowest figures. The average span of a man's life in India is only 26.91 years while in other countries it is more than twice as much save in Japan where it is nearly double. Perhaps the only consolation is that Indians outlive their women folk by a few months, while the reverse is the case in other countries!

Resistance to Disease.—The worker's resistance to disease is notoriously weak. This is due to his low vitality and stamina which in turn depends on several contributory causes which we shall discuss later. It is a well known fact that the Indian labourer does not enjoy even his short span of life in peace and health but is frequently subject to the ravaging influences of various diseases. The maladies that most affect the workers are, to name only a few: Tuberculosis, Venereal Diseases, Influenza, Malaria, Endemic Fevers, Typhoid, Dysentery, Smallpox, Coughs, and Colds and other respiratory diseases. Of these, respiratory diseases are so common that the worker thinks it his inevitable lot to be affected with them. In consequence, almost as a rule, he is the victim of Tuberculosis, that horrible and inexorable disease which, establishing itself unknown and unsuspected

in his constitution, eats at the vitals of his life till the man is laid in his premature grave. Nor are the other diseases less sparing as far as the worker is concerned. For they attack him with equal virulence and exhibit a like tenacity in pursuing him throughout his career. It often happens that when a labourer falls a victim to a disease his vitality is sapped and he becomes easily vulnerable to an army of diverse diseases. The consequences are most harrowing. He becomes irregular and remiss in his duties, loses both money and interest in life, his personality breaks down, his family disintegrates, and both as a man and a worker he becomes irresponsible and inefficient. In fine, our industrial labourer's life is a doleful career composed of frequently alternating periods of convalescence and invalidism.

Efficiency.—It is small wonder, therefore, if the average worker's standard of efficiency is very much below that of the workers of other progressive countries. The Royal Commission reported that "the Indian industrial worker produces less per unit than the worker in any other country claiming to rank as a leading industrial nation".¹ It is argued by some that the Indian worker is not less efficient than workers elsewhere, and that much capital is made out of his so-called inefficiency. It is true that our worker's inefficiency is needlessly "propagandized" and there is nothing inherently defective in him. Moreover, efficiency even if it is judged by quality and quantity of output alone, depends for its expression on various factors other than individual ability like type of the machine, conditions of work, nature of raw material and management. Making allowance for all these factors, it must be admitted that knowledge, skill and health also influence efficiency. Of these, it must be further admitted that knowledge and health are woefully lacking in the Indian worker; and to the extent he lacks

¹ Report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India, p. 208.

these his efficiency is adversely affected. We are here concerned only with health and efficiency ; and it is not a problem about which one need be polemical. For the inefficiency of our worker, as we have already pointed out, is not a congenital defect but a circumstantial one. It is not a racial characteristic but a historical fact. In other words, it is not rooted in the worker's personality but clings to him like a cobweb. And it is not damaging to the cause of our workers to say that they are most inefficient—inefficient because they lack radiant health. Indeed, this affords a strong argument for improving the worker's health. For, if robust health conduces to efficiency, industrial prosperity rises or sinks with the health of the labour population. With the worker's ill-health are associated industrial absenteeism, lack of interest in work, want of energy to withstand the strain of occupation—all of which have cumulatively a depressing effect on his quality of work, and these can be removed only by removing his ill health. Give him better health and he will work with more regularity, energy and interest.

In view of the fact, therefore, that the worker has low vitality, low standard of efficiency, low resistance to disease and low expectation of life and high death rate, may we not conclude that his health which is the most important from the industrial and human point of view, is the least satisfactory?

Reasons for Ill-Health.—Why is the state of the worker's health so unsatisfactory ? What conditions and factors have made it what it is ? In order to plan intelligently for his health, it is necessary to drag to the light of reason the secret causes that conspire to make him a sickly creature. Now, while a strong and sound constitution may be inherited by an individual, his health mainly depends on good and adequate diet, sanitary housing, healthful habits of living and congenial working conditions. These four factors, i.e., diet, housing, habits and working conditions, are the pillars on which alone the health of either an indi-

vidual or a community can be securely built. Even in the case of a person inheriting a strong constitution, his manner of living with reference to the requirements of the four factors alone will ensure the continuance of his health; and neglect will result in its breakdown. If an entire community lives for a length of time in ill-health, one may seek for its cause in the neglect of any or all of the factors. If something is wrong with these, ill-health will continue to exist. Therefore, a brief enquiry into the diet, housing, habits and working conditions of our workers will give a clue to the present state of their ill-health and indicate the steps that need to be taken to improve this unsatisfactory situation.

Food.—Nutrition plays a very important part in promoting health. Energy depends on the intake of food. A well balanced diet is most essential for a man for healthful functioning, while malnutrition renders a man anaemic and feeble. 'It is well to remember that the food we eat should give us not only (1) sufficient heat and energy for the work our bodies have to do, but it should be capable of bringing about (2) normal growth and repair of the daily wear and tear of tissues, thus ensuring their normal functional efficiency. This double purpose is served by different components of food. Starches, sugars and fats generally serve the first purpose and are therefore called 'fuel foods'. Proteins, such as are found in milk, eggs, oil seeds, pulses, etc., and food-salts and vitamins serve the second purpose and, besides this, they increase the resistance of the body against diseases..... All the components of food—proteins, fats, carbohydrates, mineral salts, vitamins and water—are equally important in their own way; and what we have to aim at is the diet that will contain them, roughly, within certain proportions. Such diets are called Balanced, Standard or properly constituted diets'.³ Every adult normally requires 2,600

³ Balanced Diets, issued by the Bombay Presidency Baby and Health Week Association, 1937.

Balanced Diet per day for an Adult

<i>Diet</i>	Milk Ozs.	Meat, Fish Ozs.	Rice Ozs.	Wheat, Jawar Ozs.	Pulses Ozs.	Oilseeds Ozs.	Fruit, root, Tuber, veg. Ozs.	Leafy vegeta- bles Ozs.	Fats, oils Ozs.	Sugar, Jaggery Ozs.	Proteins Gm.	Fats Gm.	Carbohydrate Gm.	
Non-vegetarian .	9	2	6	9	2	4	5	3	1½	2	85	76	440	2860
Vegetarian ...	18		6	9	2	4	5	3	4	1½	88	76	440	2870

calories per day. If he is a heavy manual worker he needs about 3,000 calories. In the above table Dr. K. S. Mhaskar gives the requirements of a well-balanced diet for vegetarians and non-vegetarians.³

The cost of a well-balanced diet is estimated at pre-war prices to be about Rs. 5 to Rs. 6 per month.⁴ A nutritious diet containing 2,600 calories per day which is the minimum normally required by an adult who is not employed in hard manual work should cost at the lowest estimate annually Rs. 65/- to Rs. 70/-. Now, the annual per capita income in our country—not taking into account the unnatural war conditions with their steep rise in wages and prices—is only Rs. 65, just the amount necessary to purchase a balanced diet. But a man does not live by diet alone. He needs clothing, housing and other social and cultural amenities. The sum of Rs. 65 is to be economically distributed on various items of expenditure of which food is one,—a phenomenal feat, indeed! The consequence is that the average Indian is thus forced to live perpetually in famine-stricken condition, ill-fed, ill-housed and ill-clothed. Indeed, as much as 70% of our population do not have the required minimum food.⁵

The foregoing remarks apply to the

³ Diet Nutrition, 1942, p. 13.

⁴ Health Bulletin No. 23, Manager of Publications, Delhi, 1941.

⁵ See Sir Jogendra Singh's address to the Post-War Policy Committee on Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries, Simla, June 26, 1944. (Indian Information, Vol. 15, No. 141).

Indian population in general. But the condition of the worker, though theoretically slightly better as far as income and consumption of food is concerned, is hardly satisfactory. A careful study of the table⁶ on page 159 giving comparative family budgets of various industrial centres, amply bears out our point.

Now, having these budget figures before one's eyes and assuming the figures to be correct one need ask the question: "Of the incomes are the percentages expended on food sufficient to provide nutritive diet to all members of the respective families?" In answering this question one has to bear in mind that a balanced diet at a very modest estimate costs Rs. 5/8/- per month per individual in places where the cost of living is not high. Taking this figure and multiplying it by the average number of members of families in each industrial centre one gets the total amount necessary to secure a balanced diet for the entire family per month. A comparison of the total amount necessary with the sum actually spent on food reveals how poorly the family lives as far as consumption of food is concerned. Thus we find that excepting in Bombay, Ahmedabad and Rangoon where the workers have just enough, in other places they are short of having a nutritive diet. Indeed, in some places like Madras, Coimbatore, Nagpur and the United Provinces the expenditure on food per individual is patheti-

⁶ *Industrial Labour in India*, Pp. 280 (Industrial Labour Office, 1938).

Analysis of Some Family Budgets of Industrial Workers in India

Average No. of Members in a Family	Locality and Industry	No. of Budgets	Average Monthly Income	Average Monthly Expenditure	Percentage Expenditure on main consumption groups					Balance	
					Food	Clothing	Rent	Fuel and Lighting	Household requisites		Miscellaneous
Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Food	Clothing	Rent	Fuel and Lighting	Household requisites	Miscellaneous	Rs. a. p.
4.20	Bombay (1921-22), All Industries	2,473	52 4 6	47 14 5	52.32	8.40	7.67	7.29	2.26	18.06	4 6 1
4.57	Sholapur (1925), Textile	902	39 14 10	37 13 11	52.76	12.70	6.72	10.28	1.08	16.46	2 0 11
3.87	Ahmedabad (1926), Textile and Manual .	872	44 7 2	39 5 8	57.90	9.45	11.74	7.04	1.16	12.71	5 1 6
3.71	Rangoon (1926-27), All Industries: Burmese	992	58 8 3	56 10 11	52.80	10.60	13.90	5.20	2.60	15.00	1 13 4
	Tamil	157	41 4 9	35 15 7	56.40	8.20	6.90	8.90	2.50	22.10	5 5 2
	Telugu	139	45 5 10	38 8 5	56.40	6.50	10.30	4.20	1.80	20.80	6 13 16
3.58	Bombay (1930), Textile	85	55 0 9	51 9 4	57.11	7.33	10.68	7.12	3.14	14.72	3 7 5
	Calcutta (1930), Textile	125	34 7 0	32 1 6	64.9	7.5	4.74	7.13	1.72	14.01	1 5 6
5.82	Madras (1930), Textile	79	33 12 3	32 9 7	60.71	3.84	8.29	7.54	0.29	19.33	1 2 8
4.92	Madras, Printing and Book-binding . . .	50	31 11 2	35 13 6	55.24	4.50	13.08	7.61	0.52	19.05	4 2 4 (Passive balance)
4.89	Coimbatore (1930), Textile	96	28 3 2	33 0 3	57.70	6.21	5.05	6.81	0.44	23.79	4 13 1 (Passive balance)
3.40	Cawnpore (1930), Textile, Engineering and Leather Works	729	25 8 6	24 14 10	48.12	7.44	8.76	6.02	1.75	27.91	0 9 8
3.48	Lucknow (1930), E. I. Railway Workshops.	137	23 10 0	23 8 3	52.04	8.16	6.73	7.38	1.46	24.23	0 1 9
4.54	Nagpur (1930), Textile and Others . . .	102	29 8 0	30 8 0	58.13	8.32	2.15	7.99	1.56	21.85	1 0 0 (Passive balance) ;
3.57	Jubbulpore (1930), Potteries, Textile and Others	67	23 0 0	22 12 0	66.71	9.00	1.15	4.59	2.24	16.31	0 4 0
2.17	Gorakhpur (1930), B. & N. W. Railway Workshops	161	24 3 2	23 15 5	44.93	7.33	3.06	4.51	1.71	38.46	0 3 9
4.33	United Provinces (1930), Railways . . .	253	22 0 0	.....	57.30	8.80	4.80	6.10	2.10	20.90	.....
	Bihar and Orissa (1930), Railways . . .	213	24 0 0	.....	59.10	6.80	1.80	4.40	1.80	20.10	.....
3.78	Bengal (1930), Railways	156	27 2 4	.....	52.70	5.70	4.60	4.40	1.40	31.20	.....

cally low. It may be argued that children do not consume as much as adults and what is thus saved on the former may be used by the latter. This is true, but the adult manual worker and woman before and after childbirth actually require a richer food than is here assumed to be necessary. Therefore, our calculation and criticism based on it is not upset by these discrepancies. Moreover, such human issues as health and the sufficiency of food and the problems connected with these cannot be accurately proved or disproved, be the statistical sophistry employed never so subtle. In the analysis and appraisal of human phenomena the function of social statistics is to indicate tendencies and point to approximate conclusions. With this caution in mind we may sum up that a very large part of our workers, if not all, are terribly underfed. Their incomes are not adequate to give them and their children a "square meal". Even those fortunate few who can purchase a balanced diet rarely obtain it. The workers—indeed, even educated people—are far too ignorant to appreciate and secure a nutritive diet for themselves.

Not merely ignorance but want of leisure is another important cause of the poor food the worker takes. The meal taken by the industrial labourer in the afternoon interval is almost always a wretched mess. They leave their house at 7-30 in the early morning—man and wife or mother and son—and after labouring for five hours at the factory, have an hour's leisure between one and two in the afternoon. And within this hour they have to prepare their meal, if they have not already done so in the morning, take it and return to their drudgery. We have witnessed hundreds of labourers, men and women anxiously running home for their meal and running back immediately after they take it in order to be in the factory in time. Food taken under such conditions can be anything but nutritious. Also the food generally consumed by the worker is highly pungent and irritating. A large

number of workers who cannot afford to go home take their meal in the nearest hotel. To cater to the taste and means of such workers there are always a large number of eating places in industrial localities where cheap and bad food is concocted and served under most insanitary conditions. Such places are hot-beds of disease. There on the tables lurk flies with their venom, and on the fringe of cups tubercular germs await their victims. It is unfortunate that there exists no efficient supervision of such hotels. In view of all these observations the conclusion is borne in upon one that poverty, ignorance and want of leisure are at the root of the workers' malnutrition. Thus undernourished the workers lay themselves open to "anaemia, dyspepsia, intestinal disorders, unhealthy skin and an increased tendency to infectious diseases". They get accustomed to starvation and their want of energy brings on early fatigue impairing their efficiency. When the workers themselves are so lacking in vitality how can we expect of them a generation of healthy children?

The question may now be asked: What has been done to provide the worker with clean and nutritious diet? The answer is very brief for not much has been actually done. The improvement in the nutrition of the workers depends on the increase of their wages, spread of knowledge among them about wholesome diet and sufficient leisure for the taking of food. As far as the level of wages is concerned, it is a vexed problem. In spite of enquiries, recommendations, and agitations the employers have not shown any tendency to raise the basic wages. Wage rates are still determined by competitive labour markets, and still they are inadequate to procure a nutritive diet. In view of this it is somewhat ironical to seek to enlighten the workers in the principles of balanced diet by lectures, lantern slides and demonstrations, as it is now being done in a few industrial centres. But this propaganda is good in so far as it educates the workers in the ways of making and taking

wholesome diets. Perhaps it will prepare them beforehand for the time when they will be enabled to have nutritive food. We must record our appreciation of the services rendered by some of our rich municipalities and employers in actually giving milk free to the children of the workers and providing food to the labourers through canteens and messes. The food thus given, though not highly satisfactory, is not bad. There is much scope for improvement in the quality of food, and the methods of providing it. One great advantage of catering at the works is that it eliminates hurry and unnecessary exertion on the part of workers in reaching home for their meals. Better supervision of the canteens and the messes, and a little more liberality in running them will ensure greater benefits. Some factories run their mess on cooperative lines, and workers are considerably benefited by them. Also, the cost price grain shops opened by the employers have temporarily eased the agony of the workers. But all these measures and improvements are few and far between and have reached but a small fraction of the working class population. Moreover, to the worker these benefits smack of charity and condescension. This apart, no good diet ordered at the canteen or the mess can be as satisfactory as a meal taken in the cheerful atmosphere of the home.

Housing.—Looking into the condition of workers' housing which is another important factor influencing their health one is faced by equally depressing conditions. Next to food a clean, airy and roomy house is the best security against disease. Also, it is the best condition for health. Without proper housing it is impossible to improve the health of the worker. Living in bad and insanitary surroundings even a strong healthy well-nourished man falls a prey to illness. And the facts available leave no doubt that inadequate and bad housing is another chief cause of the workers' miserable health. "Most of the dwellings available for workers in industrial

towns, however, and especially those rented by private landlords, leave almost everything to be desired in regard to sanitary arrangements. Usually the tenements and *bustees* have been built in a haphazard manner, rather than laid out or planned; the houses are built close to one another without sufficient space being left for streets or roads; the only approach to them being winding lanes; in most *bustees* there is no provision for light and air, the only opening being a low door—in Cawnpore, for instance, 82·5% of the dwellings enquired into had no windows. No proper provision exists for the supply of water or for drainage."⁷ The houses usually occupied by workers consist of single rooms of only 100 square feet, serving the purposes of parlour, bedroom, storeroom, kitchen and sometimes even bathroom. It is calculated that an adult requires 3,000 cubic feet of fresh air per hour which is provided by the minimum of 100 square feet. If within this space four or five persons of a family are huddled together, and called upon to find room for kitchen, sleeping, storing etc., how can healthy living be possible for the unfortunate members?

The conditions of the working class population as regards housing can be better appreciated by a glance at the following table prepared from the figures given in the Report of the Rent Enquiry Committee, 1938, covering Bombay, Ahmedabad and Sholapur. The figures may be taken to be representative of India, though the conditions are far worse elsewhere in the country.

Table showing available floor space per person
(1938)

Place	Tenements studied	Percentage of single room tenements	Average No. of persons per tenement	Average floor-space per person
Bombay ...	2,175	91·24	3·84	26·86 sq.ft.
Ahmedabad	1,872	73·82	4·05	43·04 "
Sholapur ...	637	58·24	5	24 "

⁷ *Industrial Labour in India*, p. 306 (International Labour Office, 1938.)

Remembering the calculation that a person requires 100 square feet of floor-space for healthful living, one can see how far short of that requirement is the housing accommodation provided for the Indian worker. In Ahmedabad the worker has less than half the required space; in all other places he has only one fourth. In some cases as many as eight to nine persons are found to be living together in narrow rooms of 100 square feet. In 1930, 72% of the families in Cawnpore lived in single-room tenements, while the percentage for Nagpur, Jubbulpore, Akola and Gondia during the same period was 60. The effects of such awfully congested living are evidenced in the low statures, lean, lanky and pale persons of our industrial population as well as in the terrible death rate amongst infants. The following table shows infant mortality in Bombay according to the number of rooms occupied by the parents. It should be noticed that the percentage of deaths decreases as the number of rooms occupied increases.

Deaths in Infants in Bombay (1)

No. of rooms	Number		Percentage	
	1936	1937	1936	1937
Roadside	26	29	0.3	0.3
One Room & under.	7,004	6,823	78.3	78.5
Two Rooms . . .	1,328	1,298	14.8	14.9
Three Rooms. . .	351	319	4.0	3.7
Four or more rooms	164	141	1.8	1.7
Information not available . . .	73	78	0.8	0.9

A study of the table reveals that the percentage of infant death according to the number of rooms occupied during the years 1936 and 1937 does not vary very much, while the tendency in the number of deaths as the congestion increases shows an invariably sympathetic increase. May not one conclude from this that increasing congestion is accompanied by increasing infant mortality, and that life, taking its birth in overcrowding conditions, is nipped in the bud?

Overcrowding which cannot be worse, is not the only dark feature of our industria

housing. The houses are built without plan, having low roofs and of material which easily conducts heat and cold and which in many places cannot offer resistance to wind and rain. The houses, when they are not dingy *chawls*, are mere huts and sheds. And these are clustered together or lined along gutters and cess-pools and about factories where the air is polluted by smoke and dust. "Arrangements for disposal of refuse and for cleaning the surroundings of workers' dwelling are usually defective".⁸ Referring to urban industrial housing the Royal Commission on Labour says: "Neglect of sanitation is often evidenced by heaps of rotting garbage and pools of sewage, whilst the absence of latrines enhances the general pollution of air and soil".⁹ The remarks of the Bombay Rent Enquiry Committee, 1938 about industrial housing in Bombay are similar.¹⁰ Speaking of single-room tenements (which are 81% of the tenements in Bombay) it says, "They are small in size with meagre ventilation and appear more like packing boxes than places of human habitation".¹¹ And again, "Men and women are forced to live in the least possible space of a most insanitary character which is neither conducive to good health nor decent standards of morality." It is useless to multiply citations and authorities where they are abundant. Our point is to press home to the reader that workers live in the most congested and insanitary conditions which leaves no scope for their full physical and spiritual development and which combined with their malnutrition constitutes a tremendous devitalizing factor. As dark corners cannot grow good plants, smutty industrial slums cannot breed full men. They grow disease, vice and death. Here is man still a troglodyte.

⁸ *Industrial Labour in India*, p. 307 (I. L. O. Pub., 1936).

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Report of the Bombay Rent Enquiry Committee, pp. 10-12 (1938).

¹¹ *Ibid.*

The impossibility of having a proper home-life due to inadequate wages and bad-housing drives many of our workers into the fearful paths of prostitution. There are women of ill repute of all ages concentrated in slum localities of our industrial cities like Bombay, Ahmedabad, Cawnpore and Madras,—women who cater to meet the sex needs of workers deprived of normal home-life. Here the poor workers get easily infected with Venereal diseases which they convey to their homes and even to the villages when they return to them. The disease being looked upon with social contempt and ridicule, the patient seldom tries a chance of getting cured but hides it in shame and suffers in solitude. The Bombay Municipality has opened a few prophylactics where a person can get treated for Venereal diseases. These prophylactics are very few and ill-equipped. There is no education whatsoever of the workers against sex-diseases which are insidiously attacking their homes and personalities. And so the disease is spreading day by day and taking its toll of life.

What have the authorities concerned done towards the improvement of labour housing? Employers, Municipal Bodies and Trade Unions have early recognised the important part which sanitary housing plays in the life of the labour community. The Royal Commission on Labour makes extensive recommendations as regards "the survey, layout and development of urban and industrial areas, the establishment of minimum standards with regard to floor and cubic space, ventilation and lighting, water supply, drainage and latrines and type-plans of working class houses, the grant by Government of subsidies to employers for undertaking housing schemes, and the encouragement of co-operative building societies."¹² The details as regards the history of industrial housing in India is beyond the scope of our article. But it may be mentioned that the chawls built by the Bombay Municipality is a disgrace to humanity.

While the buildings themselves are bad, there is no efficient system of supervision as regards sanitation and congestion. The chawls owned by the Mills which accommodate nearly 20,000 workers are still more horrible places. The situation in Ahmedabad is little better than in Bombay. In the Bombay province owing to bad housing and congestion epidemics of cholera broke out during 1943 and the toll of death amongst labourers was so serious that the Government was compelled to pass on the 16th April 1944, The Bombay Non-Urban Labour Housing Sanitation and Provision Shops Act. The Act confers powers on the Government "to control such labour housing and sanitation in areas outside Municipal and Cantonment limits, and to make orders which will ensure that employers of labour provide reasonable sanitary conditions and open provision shops for their labour in such areas."

There are, however, honourable exceptions to the general neglect of housing by employers. Good industrial colonies have been built by the Empress Cotton Mills in Nagpur, the British India Corporation in Cawnpore, the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills in Madras, the Binny Mills in Bangalore and the Madura Mills (Harveypatti) in Madura. Special mention should be made of the Tata Iron and Steel Company in Jamshedpur, though some of the privately built houses of the workers there could have been built much better. There are also other industrial housing undertakings by employers in Delhi, in Calcutta, Bhadravati and elsewhere, but these are minor successes. Some of these are definitely bad, destined to be slums.

The good housing schemes mentioned above have benefited only a minute portion of the industrial population. Much more than three-fourths of the labourers still live under loathsome conditions which daily depress their spirits and hourly expose them to dangerous diseases. An extension of well laid out housing schemes as in Jamshedpur and in Harveypatti (in Madura)

¹² *Industrial Labour in India*, p. 309 (I. L. O.).

would be a real boon to the workers. But the problem of the ownership of houses, want of space in cities like Bombay, nearness or otherwise of houses to the factory, transport facilities and other such issues are sure to crop up. These problems have to be solved with special reference to the workers' health and happiness; as a guiding principle in industrial welfare, we can broadly state that the best solution is that which assures the health and happiness of the workers. Legislation, public opinion, co-operation, private enterprise—all should be co-ordinated creatively to tackle this huge problem of sanitary housing. But what is required more is generous vision on the part of leaders—vision to see human phenomena in proper perspective with reference to human destiny. A house is a place where the child is not only born but grows up. It is a place to which man returns after his day's labour, to eat, to rest, to talk and to sleep in the cheerful company of his dear and near ones. It is the basis of domestic life and happiness, of creative fellowship. Sweet and blissful are the uses of home. Houses beautiful will create bodies beautiful and spirits beautiful.

Habits.—The next factor of importance which governs the health of the workers is their habits of living. Clean and regular habits ensure sound health as much as wholesome food and good housing. Let a man take to bad habits, his digestion is impaired, vitality is destroyed, and in course of time constitutional integrity breaks up. Such a man soon falls a prey to disease. Nature remorselessly punishes her delinquents. This fact is rarely appreciated by the workers. Extensive observation and study has led us to believe that many of our labourers live unclean lives in unclean surroundings. And this in a greater measure than is suspected is ruining their health.

Among the harmful habits of the workers the well known are the taking of spiri-

tuons liquors, use of tobacco and gambling. "The consumption of liquor, both foreign and countrymade, has become a common habit among many workers."¹³ 28 per cent of the families in Ahmedabad, 43 per cent in Sholapur and 72 per cent in Bombay are known to be addicted to liquor.¹⁴ In other provinces the habit is equally widespread. As for tobacco the use of it is universal amongst the labouring population. Tobacco is both smoked and chewed with betel, which is also another article consumed almost as many times as possible. During 1921-1922, 96 per cent of families in Bombay and 88 per cent in Ahmedabad were found to be addicted to tobacco. In Ahmedabad even women and children smoked. As regards gambling it is difficult to give exact figures, but playing cards for money late through the night, betting on cotton figures, dice-throwing for wager are fairly common amongst the male section of certain classes of workers, especially in bigger industrial centres like Bombay, Ahmedabad, and Cawnpore. Indeed, we know that some gambling dens are run by a few workers, both in the workers' colonies where there are such and outside to which others besides workers resort. Workers take to gambling, in the first instance with the hope of adding to their meagre earnings and afterwards it becomes a sensational habit. Going to bed late in the night, taking meals irregularly, anxiety and irresponsibility are some of the inevitable features associated with gambling; and one can see how these are sufficient to ruin the health of the worker, apart from the personality complexes they induce. The effects of tobacco on health needs special research. But it is certain that constant smoking and chewing of tobacco with betel is deleterious to health. They result in bad teeth and unhygienic habits of spitting about. There is unfortunately no propaganda whatsoever against the use of tobacco

¹³ *Industrial Labour in India*, pp. 209 (I.L.O.)

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

and the habit is daily spreading even to women and children; the view generally being held that smoking and chewing tobacco are perfectly natural and there can be no limits to them. The mischief which alcohol is working on the body and personality of the worker is greater than what is wrought by other habits. Government, employers and public bodies realised betimes the menace of alcohol to the workers' well being. As early as 1928 temperance propaganda was started in Madras and workers were advised to desist from drink. Later, employers and public bodies also started campaigns against drink and labourers were educated through lectures and lantern-slides and pamphlets against the evil effects of alcohol. In some industrial centres alcohol shops were closed on the pay day to prevent the worker from drinking. The Congress carried on systematic propaganda against drink and while in power in 1937 introduced prohibition. The success of prohibition in Bombay is very great and it has saved the workers from impoverishment; but it is yet too early to read its effects on their health. It is unfortunate that in Madras prohibition which was doing its good work was abolished in 1943 with the result that most workers have taken to drink again. The success of social amelioration schemes like prohibition depends on the initiative and supervision of the Government. And if the Government itself provides facilities to poor workers to drink in order to increase its revenue, it is positively doing a disservice to humanity and undermining industrial efficiency.

Many workers are also addicted to *bhang*, *ganja* and opium. Ignorance, poverty, overwork and bad housing are at the root of all these habits of the labourers. But the very conditions which drive them to bad habits further deteriorate their position. The results of bad and unclean habits on undernourished, ill-housed and overworked persons cannot be dismissed as insignificant. They impair their energies and predispose

them to diseases. Through legislation and education the workers must be taught to eschew dangerous and degenerate habits and take to wholesome ways of living. In this respect the *akhadas* (gymnasias) provided by some of the employers and the labour unions are serving a very useful purpose. They are the most popular of the labour welfare activities. Also better health can be secured by the extension and better organization of recreational facilities. The recreations and sports now organised by the employers as a feature of their labour welfare activities are very irregular and mere periodical shows. At any rate they are hopelessly insufficient and only a small number take advantage of them. But the possibilities which sports and recreation offer in inculcating healthy and regular habits are very great. The workers should also be educated in home hygiene. The way in which they spit about, blow their noses, dispose of refuse and keep their houses is anything but conducive to the healthful living of the community. There is great truth in the saying that it is the slum mind which creates slums. And the worker must be drawn out not merely from the slums but from his slum mind. Health depends not so much on pills and potions as on clean ways of living. Make the worker austere in his poverty, clean in his small house, sober in his thoughts, he will improve his own health as well as set a good example to his children. Give him a programme of life which will keep the doctor away.

Conditions of Work.—Hours of work and working conditions, like temperature, humidity, noise, dust, ventilation and sanitary arrangements, affect the health of the worker to a very great extent. The Indian worker who has a secret longing for the open fields and rural life has not yet acclimatized himself to factory conditions. He has an unconscious but deep-rooted psychological disgust for mechanical life. It must be appreciated that this attitude is a powerful factor which predisposes the worker to

accidents and disease.

The average number of hours an Indian works in the factory may be taken to be nine hours per day and not more than sixty hours per week. Working monotonously at a machine for nine hours every day is a most strenuous and enervating job in a tropical country like India. And considering the fact that the worker is, as a rule, undernourished, and psychologically averse to working in closed factories for long hours, the nine-hour day is indeed enervating bodily and mentally. But it must be said that as regards hours of work the tendency has been to reach a standard minimum. Before the passing of the Factories Act hours of work were as long as sixteen or more per day and even children and women were exploited most inhumanly. As early as 1919 the International Labour Conference recommended the adoption of an eight hour day, and legislation in India regarding labour is slowly moving towards that minimum. At present, however, the bad management of the shift system gives little scope to the worker to develop habits of regularity as regards rest and food. Too frequently changing shifts impairs the health of the worker and makes him irresponsible.

The conditions of work concerning health, sanitation and safety in factories and mines are governed by the series of Factories Acts and Mines Act passed from 1891 and 1901 respectively. The scope and effectiveness of the measures have been gradually extended by many replacements and amendments. The conditions of work showed marked improvement, and in 1931 the Royal Commission on Labour in India expressed their satisfaction at the cleanliness and layout of many of our larger factories; while they condemned the smaller and seasonal factories for defective layout, insufficient arrangement for the elimination of dust, lack of control of temperature, irregular whitewashing of buildings, want of latrine accommodation, etc. The Factories Act of 1934 prescribes measures for cleanli-

ness, ventilation, artificial humidification, cooling, lighting, water, latrines and urinals, etc., and these measures have been followed with greater or lesser success by many of our factories. The Annual Report on the working of the Factories Act during 1942 reveals many failures and some improvements. Accidents increased during the period, owing to longer hours of work, employment of untrained personnel, and lighting restrictions in connection with A. R. P. Safety devices, which were taken on hand could not be proceeded with at the same pace due to lack of material. As for ventilation and humidification the Report admits that the improvement has not been as satisfactory as could be desired. A few employers have installed cooling plants in their factories. In a Bombay factory the temperature has been brought down to 82·6 degrees from 99·0 degrees. Other measures concerning sanitation, lime-washing and latrines arrangements are reported to have progressed satisfactorily, though not uniformly, in spite of war conditions.

Labour conditions in mines also show a like gradual improvement.—“Mining districts in different parts of the country were, and to a certain extent still are, liable to outbreaks of such diseases as cholera, smallpox and plague. Cholera was once an annual certainty, although the severity of the outbreak differed from year to year. Next to cholera, smallpox was the prevailing disease and appeared in periodical epidemics. Plague, although less common than the above two, was much more serious as it caused greater alarm among the workers and disorganized the industry. However, the most fatal disease was and still is, malaria, especially in Bengal.”¹⁵ The Royal Commission observed that working conditions in mines were not much worse than in other countries, but sanitation was badly neglected and this led to a wide prevalence of hookworm among mine labourers. Subsequent legislation, the institution of health

¹⁵ *Industrial Labour in India*, pp. 191 (I.L.O.).

boards and periodical inspection have slightly improved the conditions of workers in mines. But generally speaking, the working conditions in the factories and in the mines, though not as wretched as they used to be two or three decades back, leave much to be desired. They mitigate a great deal the hardships of the worker and lessen the dangers of the occupations. But they do not, on that account, make work in the factories wholesome, healthful or pleasurable. Moreover, research is needed in the nature and incidence of occupational diseases of which we know nothing. The history and problem of occupational diseases in India forms yet an unwritten chapter as no factory is equipped with adequate research personnel and apparatus for the task. In this field, mere haphazard questions put to casual doctors will elicit nothing but misinformation. What is required is wider and deeper enquiry with the help of expert medical and social scientists. With more reliable data available regarding industrial diseases, and with further availability of means, like dust-extracting and cooling plants to improve working conditions, it would not be difficult, after the war, to induce our capitalists to better the lot of their employees in factories and mines. There should also be better supervision of the works. The employers are fond of keeping the working conditions in their factories a closely guarded secret behind high enclosures and well-secured gates. The working conditions could be progressively improved only by quadrilateral co-operation between the workers' unions, the employers, the public and the government through criticism, sympathy, suggestions and legislation.

Taking all the above factors into consideration—undernourishment, bad housing, bad habits and not very congenial working conditions—one need not marvel at all at the low stamina and vitality of our workers, their brief expectation of life, their extreme proneness to disease and their high mortality rate. But what is surprising is that

inspite of so much wretchedness, they exist and propagate instead of ceasing to exist much earlier. All the reasons we have given above constitute the active causes that destroy the health of our industrial population. We have pressed these points at some length because they usually go unnoticed while attention to medical aid and facilities is stressed in a study of the worker's health. We hold that nourishment, sanitary housing, habits and working conditions are the preventive and positive factors of health while medical facilities are only largely curative and negative ones. We do not undervalue the role of medical help in the health of the worker. But in a study like the present, its consideration comes logically later than that of nourishment, housing, etc.

Medical Help.—While the workers' health is constantly being ruined by various causes it is heart-rending to witness that they have the least medical facilities to repair the damage done to their bodies and spirits. Very few workers obtain adequate medical relief. This remark will be appreciated by a study of the table on the next page embodying the results of the Bombay Labour Office's enquiry during 1930-31 into medical treatment received by workers in Bombay cotton mills. The figures, though they refer to a limited field, may be taken to be fairly representative of industrial India—indeed, the conditions are far worse in other places.

It may be seen that about 22% of the sick received no medical assistance at all, while nearly 40% resorted to country medicine. As Dr. Kumarappa comments on these figures, "What type of country medicines was used is not known. But there is no doubt that the workers resorted to treatments of doubtful efficacy driven by the forbidding costs of proper medical care. Of course," he goes on to say, "there is the element of superstition and ignorance which influence the Indians' preference of quack medicines and country remedies.

*Medical Treatment Received by Workers During Sickness*¹⁸

Kind of Treatment	Males		Females		Total Number of Cases	Percentage to Total
	No. of Cases	Percentage	No. of Cases	Percentage		
No Treatment	870	18.30	347	34.77	1,217	21.63
Country Medicines	1,848	39.92	401	40.18	2,249	39.97
Western Medicines	1,536	33.18	195	19.54	1,731	30.76
Country and Western Medicines	44	0.95	3	0.30	47	0.84
Patent Medicines	294	6.35	46	4.61	340	6.04
Patent and Western Medicines	7	0.15	.....	.....	7	0.12
Patent and Country Medicines	4	0.09	.....	.....	4	0.07
Patent, Country and Western Medicines	1	0.02	.....	.....	1	0.02
Other remedies including imperfectly specified	25	0.54	6	0.60	31	0.55
Total ...	4,629	100.00	998	100.00	5,627	100.00

Most often sick workers and their families content themselves with wearing charms supposed to be potent enough to drive away any disease or deformity belonging to the body and the brain".¹⁹ Once the worker falls ill it is very difficult for him to get completely cured. He lays himself open to many other diseases and becomes a permanent invalid if he survives at all. Moreover, the conditions under which the worker lives and moves are least congenial to his recovery. Indeed, they nullify whatever little benefit the medicines are capable of rendering. Even in cases where medical aid is forthcoming there is no follow-up with the result that there is really no permanent cure effected. If truth must be told, many labourers pooh-pooh the use of modern medicine which to them is only some coloured mixture that must be taken because it is given. And as long as there is no proper co-ordination between medical treatment, food taken and living conditions of the worker during illness, the dispensation of drugs by doctors appears to us to be a comic use of the art of Aesculapius. Most of the works dispensaries, wherever they exist, are, therefore, not fulfilling the purpose

they are intended to. Some enthusiastic employers have instituted the system of indigenous as well as foreign treatments. And we have found that in such cases the workers try out both the methods of treatment. In one North Indian factory there was a Hakim, a Vaid, a Homoeopath and an Allopathist all functioning side by side. It is yet too early to pass an opinion on the value of providing such a variety of medical treatment.

In the matter of providing medical assistance to the workers the employers lack constructive wisdom. There is much of waste, apology, want of co-ordination in all they have done. Dispensaries fulfil a useful function in labour welfare and health, and with adequate staff and equipment, and spread of education amongst the workers they should become an important part of industrial life itself. At present, the first aid services rendered by the works dispensaries in the case of accidents are considerable. But in order to be more useful, they must be coordinated with other hospitals and must have follow-up and health visitors services. But the details of an industrial health programme does not come within our purview. The possibilities of sickness insurance and hospitalization are being explored by our leaders and the Government. A committee has already been appointed for that purpose. But though sickness in-

¹⁸ Quoted by Keni, V. P., in *The Problem of Sickness Insurance*, pp. 35.

¹⁹ Dr. J. M. Kumarappa, *A Plea for Social Security to Prevent Pauperism*, in the *Indian Journal of Social Work*, Sept. 1943.

insurance and hospitalization may become accomplished facts in course of time, these alone cannot offer positive solution to the problem of the workers' health. We must also give the employees a constructive programme whereby they will be lifted out of their sordid existence, and grow to the full stature of their manhood, walk with graceful bodies and smile with beaming eyes. And this can be done only by a co-ordination of the positive and negative factors which alone build up the health of a community.

New Trends in the Prevention of Crime

P. K. TARAPORE

THE best way to prevent imprisonment is to prevent crime as far as possible.

A healthy public opinion is perhaps one of the best means of preventing crime. A study of the criminal statistics of various countries reveals that in places where the public take a serious view of crime and show no sympathy towards criminals there are very few offences committed. When the same public, as for example in England, actively co-operates with the police and the judiciary the incidence of crime goes down further. On the other hand, when people look upon crime with indifference, or when they show very little respect for law and order, or for the police, or for the judiciary, the tendency is for the incidence of crime to go up. Public opinion in India is not yet sufficiently enlightened in this matter and it is necessary to educate it persistently till every citizen looks upon prevention of crime as his particular interest. Anti-crime propaganda can do a lot of good if it is undertaken seriously and inspired with a purpose.

The Probation System.—One of the most successful measures adopted in modern times as an alternative to imprisonment in suitable cases is the Probation System. The system is generally applied to first offenders, especially when they are young, and the offence committed is not serious. Courts, however, have full discretion in the matter. It is necessary to have a clear idea of what is meant by probation in this connection as the term has various meanings.

Probation is a postponed sentence. The sentence is not fixed at the time of conviction

and the accused is released on probation. Instead of being sent to jail, he is placed under supervision of a Probation Officer for a prescribed period. He is free to follow his ordinary course of life but on conditions imposed by the Court. These conditions are generally—

1. That the Offender should obey such instructions as the Probation Officer may give and inform him of his movements and change of address.

2. That he should take up some honest occupation approved by the Probation Officer.

3. That he should not associate with bad characters.

4. That he should not commit any offence whatsoever during the period of probation.

The Court of course has power to impose any other conditions it deems fit.

Probation is not a "let off" as some people think. During the period of probation a good Probation Officer subjects his charge to serious discipline and that is often sufficient to reform him. Another great advantage of this system is that it is enforced by the consent of the offender. Probation cannot be imposed without such consent and this immediately introduces the element of voluntary co-operation on the part of the accused. In addition to the great good that this system does to the offender and the community, probation has the virtue of being the least expensive. The expense of maintaining the accused in an institution is obviated. It has also a

more important social virtue in that it prevents the severance of the domestic and family ties and avoids the stigma invariably associated with imprisonment which affects an offender in his ultimate rehabilitation. There is a definite disciplinary purpose in probation and it is true that strict compliance with the conditions usually makes exacting demands upon the probationer. It is really conditional liberty. The conditions are imposed not so much as a punishment as with the object of assisting the probationer in accustoming himself to a more ordered and disciplined mode of living.

The question is often asked "Is probation a punishment?" At the first thought it would look as if the answer is in the negative. But probation frequently involves demands on the probationer which must partake of the nature of punishment certainly more severe than other methods such as fining which are admitted forms of punishment. The main difference between probation and imprisonment is that probation does not entirely deprive the offender of his liberty.

In England this system has done an enormous amount of good, reducing the number of committals to prison by two-thirds with the result that half the prisons have been closed as no longer needed. This constitutes a practical answer to those critics who go on warning that probation will cost a great deal of money.

If figures of short sentences are studied we shall find that thousands and thousands of young men are sent to prison for periods not exceeding 3 months. It will be agreed that none of these persons could have been found guilty of a serious offence, and certainly none of them could have been habituals. The incarceration of this large number of men and women for so short a period is a waste of money and energy. Moreover, as we have seen, it can do a lot of harm. Most of these cases could be dealt with under some form of probation.

The writer has been repeatedly asked

some questions with regard to probation. They may be briefly stated here :—

1. How are you to know that the system will be successful? And is there any guarantee that a measure that has been found useful in Europe will be beneficial in India?

2. Will it be possible to get as Probation Officers men and women of honesty, integrity and firmness?

3. Where is the money to come from to support the system?

4. How are we to know that the system will not lead to increase in crime?

It is always difficult to prophesy exactly what measure of success will attend any reform; and it is also true that what may be successful in one country may not prove to be so in another. But this is no argument against giving a fair trial to a reform for which there is a good deal to be said. Human nature being the same all over the world, if the principles underlying the probation system are sound, there is no reason why it should not be successful in India.

It is true that the Probation Officer is the backbone of the system and unless he or she were earnest, honest and firm, the whole system would be a failure. But no country has a monopoly of such persons. Social service in India is not unknown. A country which contains such well known institutions as the Servants of India Society, the Ramakrishna Mission, the Seva Sadan and many others need not despair of finding social workers. Moreover, the recently started Tata Institute of Social Sciences has already produced and will go on producing trained workers year after year.

We have already seen that instead of being a financial burden to the State probation leads to considerable economy. It is true that owing to the main population of India being rural, economy will not be so great here as in England. But there is no doubt that it will lead to substantial savings.

As an answer to the fourth question we may point to the experience of countries

where this system has been tried. Probation has never led to an increase in crime.

The Probation Officer, as we have noted, being the backbone of the system, he or she has to be selected with great care. They need serious training and only those who show willingness to work hard and have a passion for service should be retained. A Probation Officer has not only to be sympathetic but firm. When the probationer breaks the discipline the Probation Officer has to pull him up and, in the event of misbehaviour, place the probationer before the Court which will then pass the sentence which had been postponed.

Preventive Detention.—While among modern methods probation is held to be an appropriate treatment for juvenile first offenders, preventive detention is viewed as the correct way of dealing with confirmed habituals. Every country possesses a number of apparently incorrigible and habitual criminals who are the despair of the police, of the judiciary and the prison authorities. Most of such men live in a vicious circle. They alternate between short periods of freedom and the usual process of falling into the hands of the police, going to the criminal courts and to prison. This goes on time after time till one begins to wonder whether they deserve freedom at all. It apparently seems as though a good case could be made out for taking away the man's liberty for the rest of his life. This, however, is a very serious step. And it seems to us that the English system of preventive detention is a good compromise. As the name itself implies, a person under this system is detained in a special institution as a preventive to committing further crime. The persons detained are incorrigibles about whom, nevertheless, the authorities still entertain hopes of eventual reformation. The detention is comparatively for long periods during which the prisoner passes through various degrees of freedom. The aim of the system is to gradually reform the criminals and make them lead comparatively

honest lives.

Let us further clarify what is meant by preventive detention and for what class of offenders it is prescribed. In the first place it must be noted that the persons who are awarded this punishment are those who have had several previous convictions and had moreover been pronounced *judicially* as incorrigible habituals. The English system may be briefly described here. An institution for preventive detention must necessarily differ from an ordinary prison. As the main object of the system is the segregation of the prisoner and protection of society, there is no need to submit the prisoner to the rigours of an ordinary prison. It is quite sufficient to keep him under a certain amount of restraint and make a last attempt at persuading him to lead the life of a normal citizen. He is encouraged to behave himself better and better by offering him privileges as he is promoted from lower to higher stages. Ultimately he is made to work "on trust" and when this stage is completed and after a careful, prolonged and satisfactory period of observation the prisoner is allowed to work without supervision. After passing the "probationary stage" satisfactorily, the prisoner is released on licence on the recommendation of a committee. For the remaining period of his sentence he is released on parole and the officers of the Prisoners' Aid Society assist him in every way to establish himself as an honest member of society. The system has worked with considerable success in England and it is long overdue for adoption in this country.

It is not necessary to adopt the English system *in toto*. The two main points one must secure are:—

1. Segregation of the individual under proper supervision.
2. Keeping him busy with the work of earning his daily bread.

Perhaps the best and most economical way of dealing with this problem in India would be the establishment of colonies more or less on the lines of the Salvation Army's

colonies for criminal tribes of India. Properly managed the financial aspect need not make one anxious. A certain amount of initial expenditure is inevitable. But once this is defrayed a colony gets more and more self-supporting. Agricultural operations, with cottage industries thrown in, could be made to yield a budget which would not only pay for efficient supervision but would also provide an adequate living wage for the colonists. By segregating the most dangerous criminals, we not only safeguard life and property but materially help to reduce the number of criminals in general, while the saving effected of money, time and labour is considerable. Since preventive detention as understood in England has not so far been introduced into India, special legislation will of course be necessary.

Revision of Sentences.—There is much diversity of opinion as to the wisdom of revising sentences once they are passed. Some people think that once a sentence is awarded a prisoner should be made to serve it in full. Others argue that by the reduction of a sentence crime is encouraged, the majesty of the law slighted and the authority of the State undermined.

Such arguments ignore certain fundamental facts. We have seen that prisons should be training institutions primarily for the correction of a prisoner. We have also seen the evils inherent in imprisonment, the dangers of association with other criminals and the deterioration in character which follows under prevailing conditions.

No Court can claim with any degree of certainty that a particular individual can be corrected say, after a period of five years but not after one or three years. Courts have not the time or the means of investigating various influencing factors of a case. The result is often a haphazard guess whether a man should be given two years or five years. Another factor confusing the issue is the personality and the temperament of the magistrate. One may be merciful, another severe. One may be inclined to

give short sentences, another long ones, for the same offence. The sole aim should be to protect the public and not to deal out purely retributive punishments; and society can be protected only when the prisoner has ceased to be a source of danger. The effect of imprisonment upon the criminal can only be a matter of actual observation. It must therefore be recognised that if a body of responsible persons constituting a revisory board recommends the modification of sentences in course of time and in the light of further experience, it is neither a reflection on the judiciary nor an action fraught with danger to society.

Revision is not applied to habitual prisoners or other dangerous criminals. If after careful consideration by a board and consultation with local officers, it is decided that the prisoner deserves to be shown consideration and released on parole no harm will be done. In fact a system of revision will change the mentality of all long term prisoners who will make every effort to discipline themselves and work cheerfully, with the ultimate object of earning the approbation of the board. This is in itself reformation of the prisoner.

The results of revision of sentences as seen by the writer have been nothing short of brilliant, only two or three per cent having broken their parole. But in order to produce good results it is necessary to emphasise (1) that the matter must be treated seriously, (2) the board should be constituted with great care so that all shades of opinion are represented, (3) that opinion of local officers even down to the village headman should be carefully considered.

Treatment of Young Offenders.—One of the most important steps in dealing with offenders is to catch them when yet they are young and give them special treatment. There are good reasons for this. The idea of right and wrong is not developed fully in a young person. There is often a confusion of ideas as to motives. The child is often homeless, has either no parents or one

step-parent. He has been perhaps half-starved and has not had the benefits of home or moral training. Also fear often plays a part in his mental make-up. A child or young person is readily influenced by the company he keeps and it is therefore essential that a young offender should be rigidly separated from a grown-up one.

An investigation in England some years ago revealed the fact that 60 per cent of practised offenders were tried for their first offence before they had attained the age of 16. This is significant and shows the necessity for redoubling our efforts with regard to the reformation of offenders while they are still young. Saving young offenders from a future life of crime does not merely mean a negative service to the State; it automatically multiplies the number of good citizens. Young offenders very often exhibit qualities of courage and adventure which directed into proper channels would turn them into very good citizens.

In the treatment of young offenders leniency, pity or anger are out of place. What is required is justice and understanding and an appreciation of the miserable environments from which the offender comes. This environment may consist of an overcrowded home, disunited or step-parents, haphazard or no training, poverty and idleness. A child brought up under such conditions has a false scale of values. Pity has little place in the administration of law. Kindness merely from compassion may turn out to be great cruelty. Pity, and particularly self-pity, would be fatal if the offender is made to think that he is not to blame. Therefore the correct way to deal with young offenders is to ascertain the causes of default, to weigh the possibilities of the defaulter, to examine his circumstances and to prescribe appropriate treatment which will make the best use of his talents. A great change has taken place in recent years in the treatment of young offenders. In the old days persons under 16 were usually sentenced to long periods for such an offence as theft. The

judiciary were concerned only with the offence and the prescribed dose of punishment, no distinction being made between an adult and a juvenile. Later, thinkers and observers began to be doubtful of the efficacy of repression. They discovered that harshness excited further crime. If the authorities thought that repressive measures acted as a deterrent, they were wrong because instances were known of young persons picking the pockets of spectators who had gathered to witness the execution of a pickpocket.

Children's Courts.—All this has now changed. There are special courts for the trial of young offenders. These courts make it their business to diagnose the condition of the offender, detect his weakness and his possibilities and prescribe proper treatment in order to correct and reform him. The offender is studied very closely and in this task the Probation Officer is very useful, for he investigates all the contributory causes and circumstances and places this information before the Court.

Children under trial are confined in special "Remand Homes" and are never allowed to mix with grown-up under-trials. Unless the child is too unruly or depraved he should never be remanded to a prison for obvious reasons. The period spent under remand could be usefully employed in studying the child.

Magistrates of juvenile courts need to be very carefully selected. They must possess certain special qualifications. They must understand the mind of the young. They should be able to disentangle cause and effect in the behaviour of the young offender and decide the right mode of correction and guidance. It is more a good understanding of how a child's mind works than a thorough knowledge of the law that is required of a Magistrate presiding over a juvenile court. He should have cool judgment, large heart, keen eyes and listening ears.

The Management of Homes for Young Offenders.—This is a controversial subject. Some hold that the homes should be managed

by unofficial agencies and others that it is the responsibility of the State. The writer is inclined to the latter view. The care and reform of young delinquents is a great responsibility and the State should undertake it with all the means at its disposal. It can seek the co-operation of voluntary workers by getting them nominated on managing committees. Though unofficial institutions started by public-spirited men and women with kindly feeling and initiative are useful yet they have their own drawbacks. The treatment of offenders is a technical matter and mere sentiment without scientific methods of training does more harm than good. If the Government is unable for some reason or other to organise and manage these homes, the only alternative is to encourage private bodies to fill the gap. But if Government entrusts the care of young offenders to these public bodies, Government should see that the objects underlying the act are attained. For this reason it is necessary, in the first place, to ascertain that the institution is a properly constituted body and that the managers of a home understand modern ways of dealing with children. There is an inclination to herd different categories together, sometimes for the sake of economy, at others through ignorance. This must be prevented.

Young offenders may be divided roughly into three categories, viz., the child, the young person and the adolescent. The ages prescribed for these categories differ from country to country. Ordinarily a person is a child between 7 to 12 or 14 years of age; a young person between 12 and 16 or 14 and 16 as the case may be; and an adolescent or juvenile between 16 and 19 or 16 and 21 as in other countries. These ages should be judged by the Magistrate more by the general appearance of the offender than by actual medical proof. These three categories are mentioned because it is as necessary to separate them and give them differential treatment as it is to separate all these three classes from grown-up offenders.

Training Schools.—When it is necessary to establish training schools for these three classes, children may be lodged in what one may call a Junior Training School, young persons in a Senior Training School and juveniles in a 'Borstal' Training School, the term 'Borstal' being the name of the town in England where the experiment was originally tried. The number confined in a Training School should never exceed 300 consisting of four houses of 75 inmates each. When the school is first introduced in any country the number is necessarily much smaller. But as time goes on and Magistrates begin to understand the importance of the special training given to young offenders in the schools, more and more persons are sent to them and the maximum of 300 is soon reached, especially in the "Borstal School". This should be anticipated and arrangements should be ready for the expansion of such schools. It is a great advantage to separate different classes of boys even in the Borstal School, viz., those who have been found guilty of offences involving dishonesty, indecency or great personal violence from those who are comparatively innocent of such offence. Along with those who may be termed 'dangerous' boys should be kept those who are habitual offenders and those who may have failed to benefit by the treatment given to them in the ordinary Borstal School. Ordinarily Junior and Senior Schools take a much longer time to reach the stage when they will be having 300 inmates. One more school is also necessary. This school will act as a clearing house where all inmates should be sent on first admission for observation and distribution to the appropriate school. This clearing house should be staffed by experts not only in Borstal methods but also in child psychology.

The Training.—The training given in any one of these schools is as different from the treatment given to adults in ordinary jails as chalk is from cheese. A training school should be just like any other school

with perhaps this difference that the inmate cannot leave it when he likes. The training consists of physical, mental and moral culture. The first thing that is necessary is to improve the physical condition of the boy who generally needs particular attention in this respect. The training takes the form of P. T., gymnastics, drill and boxing. Games should be introduced such as football, hockey and cricket. At a later stage selected inmates may be taken out for route marches and it is an advantage for each school to have its modest band of drums and pipes. Healthy competition is encouraged between wards in the same school and between the school and surrounding teams. Apart from these forms of physical training it is very necessary, especially in the case of the older boys, to teach them how to do an honest day's labour. For this purpose the most suitable forms of employment are:—agriculture, gardening and looking after cattle. Cottage industries of a rough type such as weaving, spinning, making cart wheels, ploughs, rough smithy and tin smithy are very useful. Unless the boy is taught to work hard and not be afraid of work he is likely to be a failure when he goes out. It is surprising how soon boys take to hard work and grow to like it, if only an example is set by the older boys, prefects, Borstal Officers, House Masters and even the Superintendent. When a boy sees that his House Master takes off his coat, tucks up his sleeves and starts digging, he does not think there is any shame in following his example. Good living is a matter of acquiring good habits; and the habit of working, no matter what the occupation may be, is one of the most important ones to acquire. When a boy so trained goes out into the world he surprises his friends and relatives by the willingness and ability with which he handles any kind of work that is entrusted to him. That is, indeed, real reformation.

Mental and moral training are essential to complete the process. Most boys are illiterate and elementary education should

be compulsory in all the schools. Those who show aptitude for further training should be encouraged to do so. Moral training in a country like India presents difficulties on account of the various religions that exist. It is important that each boy should be trained in his own religious creed and proselytizing should be strictly forbidden. It is not beyond the ingenuity of the management to work out a scheme by which each boy is given instruction befitting his religion. This training is absolutely necessary because most inmates will be found to have warped ideas about what is right and wrong.

Staff.—The greatest difficulty in managing these training schools in a country like India will be found in obtaining a suitable staff. A Borstal Officer is a highly trained man in his profession. He must have special qualifications. He should be an educated man imbued with the idea of service. His work should be his special hobby and the welfare of the inmates entrusted to his charge his constant interest. As he has to set an example to all the boys he should be a man of unimpeachable character, equable temperament and inexhaustible patience. Moreover, he must show qualities of leadership, as the whole idea of the training is to *lead*, not to *drive*. A good Borstal Officer refuses to own that any boy under him is incorrigible. He tries and tries again till some impression is made on the boy and the latter perhaps turns over a new leaf all of a sudden. In England one finds university men devoting their whole lives to this truly benevolent work. They seldom bother about their emoluments but consider the saving of so many souls as ample reward. When we turn to our own country we find no difficulty in discovering such men and women. But it would be a great advantage if such workers, in addition to their training in India, could be sent to England—the home of Borstal—to observe what is being done, what animates the Borstal Officer, in short to catch the Borstal spirit, the Borstal idea. Once

these training schools are started on a sound foundation Borstal Officers will go on multiplying and with a few changes suitable to this country and its people we shall also benefit by this most useful system.

It is necessary to emphasize the importance of having a good staff. Any "Tom, Dick or Harry", no matter how clever he is, does not necessarily make a good Borstal Officer. I have seen mistakes made in India in different provinces; and the so-called Borstal training imparted in such institutions was like the blind leading the blind. It is no reflection on this country that we do not possess trained Borstal Officers. We have to learn many things and there is no shame in admitting that we seek instruction from the fountainhead of Borstal, viz., England. Perhaps, the worst mistake to make is to post an officer, who has been trained in ordinary jail methods, to a Borstal School. His very training, his ideas of the relationship between himself and the inmates of a jail almost disqualifies him for Borstal work, unless indeed, he has shown unmistakable zeal for such work. So it is far better to recruit persons who have no preconceived idea beyond those of social service and train them in correct methods. We have seen above what sterling qualities are required of Borstal Officers, and it is necessary to weed out ruthlessly those who are found unsuitable since even one or two such inefficient men might spoil the whole system.

Legislation Necessary.—For the treatment of young offenders special legislation is necessary. Instead of having separate Acts for children and adolescents it is best to have one comprehensive Bill for all categories. The Act needs to be very carefully drafted and amended from time to time in the light of experience.

Female Prisoners.—Except in a few cases, female prisoners in most provinces are not treated with the consideration they deserve. The old idea, which still persists in some provinces, was to have a female

section attached to a male jail. The different categories such as convicts and under-trials, young and old have necessarily to be mixed together as no separation is possible in such places. Besides, no kind of training can be attempted for such small numbers as exist in the female section. To have a female section in a jail meant for males is objectionable. In spite of so-called precautions communication between the two sections by various means is not uncommon. It is only fair that female prisoners should be visited by female doctors and nurses so that they can talk freely to them with regard to ailments peculiar to the sex. Under present conditions it is impossible to do more than what is being done, and the only solution is for each province to have one or more special jails for females managed on modern lines by a female staff. There are many advantages in such a scheme. In the first place, with a larger number of inmates in one institution training in such handicrafts as tailoring, needlework, and embroidery can be advantageously undertaken under competent female teachers. In the second place, the anxiety of contact with the male population is avoided. Moreover, one could secure the assistance of a good board of lady visitors who would have further influence in reforming female prisoners. Lastly, all female prisoners would have the assistance of members of their own sex by night as well as by day.

Children of Female Prisoners.—One of the problems that has not yet been solved satisfactorily is the disposal of children of female prisoners. It is true that rules have been laid down under which children above a specified age have to be handed over to the relatives of the prisoner. But it often happens that no one comes forward to take charge of the unfortunate child and so some children are left in the jail beyond the age limit. This is very objectionable as the impression of jail life on a child's mind persists during its later years. As children have to be kept under the protection of

Government, the remedy is obviously to have a nursery adjoining the female jail in charge of a trained Matron and an Assistant Matron. The mothers may be allowed to see the children, but the children should on no account be permitted to go into the female jail. Such a nursery or nurseries would be financially prohibitive if they were to be attached to the numerous female sections that exist. But if the proposal mentioned above of having one or two special jails for females in each province is accepted, the provision of nurseries reduces itself into a simple and economical proposition.

Reformatory Influences.—We have dealt with the treatment of children, young persons and adolescents. The training given to adolescents can very well be extended in a modified form to young adults confined in jails. The present system is one of dull routine in which the prisoner takes very little interest. Co-operation on his part is lacking. Under the circumstances it is difficult to reform him. There is no reason why the physical, mental and moral training of Borstal Schools should not be extended to young persons up to the age of 25 or even 30 on admission. Compulsory primary education, provision of libraries, physical training and permission to play games as a reward for good conduct and good work plus a reasonable amount of labour could very well take the place of the present programme. Teach an illiterate man to read and write, he acquires a strong desire to read books; and those who are still unable to read books can at least listen to others. Thus the minds of the inmates would be directed to healthy channels. Much useful training can be given by jail visitors by way of instruction and lectures on interesting subjects. If the various cinema companies could be persuaded to show interesting and instructive films to prisoners it will be all to the good. Such training will automatically change the outlook of a prisoner from that of hopelessness to one of hopefulness. He will realise that the public are interested in

him and his welfare. He will cheerfully co-operate and discipline himself. This indeed will constitute real reformation.

Staff of Prisons.—From what has been stated in previous paragraphs it will be seen that very little can be done if the staff of a prison from the Superintendent downwards is not a team of well trained officers who understand their business and who are ready at all times to help. Trying to run a prison without the proper staff is like trying to make a brick without straw; and it must be admitted that, generally speaking, the staff has been the weakest factor in the management of prisons in India. The reason is obvious. The prison Department has for some unknown reason been considered to be the Cinderella of all Government Departments. A few years back the staff used to be recruited haphazard and generally those who could not get a job elsewhere joined the Prison Department. The result was disastrous. Though recently some prison authorities have awakened to the idea of recruiting and training the staff with care, much still remains to be done. One of the reasons why good men could not be recruited was the low initial pay and long hours of work in a confined space. Another reason was the difficulty for even efficient men to rise above a certain grade in the administration. If good men are to be attracted to this Department, it is necessary to improve the conditions of work and open up all posts, including the highest, to those who show aptitude and efficiency in prison work.

In criticising the existing method, the writer does not wish to underrate the work done already. Jail officers are some of the most hardworking officers of Government. They work sometimes for twelve hours, day in and day out, under the most trying circumstances. They have done their best in their own light. If they have not done better, it is not their fault. It is the system—or want of one—that is responsible for the general failure.

Labour in Jails.—A study of the careers of most offenders, particularly those guilty of offences against property, shows that laziness is one of the important factors that have brought them into trouble. It is therefore necessary to teach every prisoner how to put in a hard day's work without any detriment to his health. After some time he will begin to realise that labour or work in some form or another is the lot of every human being. If a prisoner is not taught to work and not to be afraid of work a very important part of his reformation will have been missed. It does not matter what form the labour takes, as long as it is suited to his temperament and physical condition. There is an erroneous idea that by teaching prisoners delicate handicrafts we would be enabling them to earn their living after release. We have already seen that over 80 per cent. of the population of India live in villages and that percentage is roughly represented in jail population also. It follows, therefore, that with the exception of those who come from cities where opportunities for work of a high class are available, most prisoners, when they return to their villages, will find such handicrafts of very little value. They will neither have the capital to start such industries, nor will they be able to sell the products in the villages. In planning jail industries this important point must always be kept in mind. Training in improved methods of agriculture, vegetable gardening, rough carpentry, smithy, tin smithy, spinning and weaving on simple looms would be more suitable than some of the more artistic occupations that we see in jails such as cabinet making, carpet weaving and so on.

Jail Visitors.—However good the training in a jail may be, it would be incomplete without the help of visitors. The selfless work of the gentlemen and ladies who devote part of their leisure hours to visiting jails and instructing prisoners is truly praiseworthy. In England the work of a visitor is more businesslike than it is in

India. Each visitor takes the charge of certain number of prisoners. He or she thus gets to know them thoroughly and is a good example, patience and industry is often able to work a remarkable change in the majority of the inmates. Visiting a prison has a twofold object. In the first place, a visitor can instruct the prisoner whatever useful lessons he can impart; and in the second place he supplies good company in place of bad. Moreover, prisoners begin to realise that they are not neglected, that there are people who care for them and are anxious to help them. This has a very sobering effect on the mind of the prisoner. Visitors in England are not only encouraged by the Government but are highly respected by every member of the prison staff.

The main function of the visitor should be to supplement the training obtained in jail. The day to day management and discipline should not ordinarily be the concern of individual visitors though serious cases of injustice or breach of regulations that come to their knowledge should be brought to the notice of the Board of Visitors or the prison authorities.

There is another way in which visiting can be of enormous help both to the administration and to the prisoner. They can help in the aftercare of those who are released; and their previous study of the prisoner renders their advice and assistance most valuable. Prison officers should welcome jail visiting; and as the idea may be new to some people the Superintendent and staff should guide and assist jail visitors.

After-care of Prisoners.—It is rightly said that the troubles of a prisoner start when he goes into a jail but when he comes out. The longer he stays in prison the greater are his troubles. He has lost connection with his relatives and friends and has lost touch with the means of livelihood. Moreover, he is usually penniless and sometimes homeless. We have seen how irresponsible and helpless a man is likely to become if he is confined for prolonged periods. It

writer has known cases of released prisoners (lifers) complaining bitterly at being turned out of jail 'in such a cruel manner'. If such a man is left to his own devices, he may be obliged to resort to a life of crime again. The Government and society have therefore a twofold duty, viz., to care for the prisoner, train and reform him while he is in prison; and secondly, to assist him in every possible way to rehabilitate himself as an honest citizen. This is the reason why Prisoners' Aid Societies and Borstal Associations exist. The workers in these societies are doing useful and benevolent work. Only those who have worked from day to day in these societies realise what a laborious task it is; and the public in general owe a debt of gratitude to the women and men who devote time and energy without any idea of personal gain to this philanthropic work.

Assisting a prisoner who has just been released appears at first sight to be a very simple affair. We are told that all that is necessary is to pay the man so many rupees for starting a new trade or supplying himself with necessary clothing and the prisoner will do the rest. The matter is not so simple; for if proper care is not taken in doling out money, the released prisoner is likely to be worse off with the money than without it. For a man who has been in close confinement for years and has undergone all sorts of restrictions the first instinct would be to go "on the bust" and have a good time. Moreover, boon-companions are not lacking and these 'friends' try to relieve the ex-prisoner of as much money as they can by borrowing or gambling. The wiser course, therefore, would be to pay the amount to a society whose officers will dispense small sums in instalments as required by the persons and see that whatever is paid is utilised for the purpose for which the amount is meant. A society with conscientious members can do a lot of good in this way; and it is necessary to add to the existing ones by encouraging the citizens of every place where there is a

jail to form such societies. Jail visitors ordinarily should be very prominent members of such societies. The remarks made above apply equally to Borstal Associations which, of course, deal with young offenders.

Conclusion.—If the recommendations suggested in this article are steadily pursued and energetically carried out, the writer ventures to visualise the ultimate results.

The Government should have a complete and comprehensive policy embracing treatment of all categories of offenders at all stages. To make sure that the policy is carried out in the spirit as well as the letter, one or more permanent experts will have to watch the progress from headquarters.

Classification and separation of offenders should be rigid and complete so that contamination of young and less criminal offenders may be avoided. This will also enable the administration to carry out appropriate treatment of each class of children and young persons, of first offenders and habituals, of men and women.

Modern methods of preventing imprisonment should be the constant aim of the authorities. Borstal training, probation and preventive detention should be made more popularly known. The spirit of Borstal training should be extended and adapted to as many youths as possible so that young offenders may take an interest in their own training, co-operate willingly with the authorities and assume a hopeful outlook for the future. This will be far better than the present dull routine and the resultant hangdog look of the inmates.

Training and reform should be the watchwords of the administration. With this end in view, in addition to an arduous programme of physical labour suited to the construction of the prisoners, steps should be taken by means of education, mental and moral instruction as well as simple games, to alter the mentality of the inmate so that he may look upon a life of crime as unworthy of him, a career to be avoided at all costs.

Female prisoners should receive better treatment through the agency of a complete female staff, executive, medical and technical.

Simple imprisonment and very short sentences should be a thing of the past, probation and other more sensible methods taking their place.

The staff of a prison or a school should be carefully selected and trained. They should consist of a band of professional men and women who work solely in the interests of their charge.

Jail-visiting and after-care of released prisoners should become the routine of every jail or school, so that no offender may cease to complain that nobody cares for him either during confinement or after release.

In dealing with offenders the following precepts of a writer should be constantly kept in mind :—

"Conquer thyself ;
Keep your temper.
Spare the vanquished,
Help the fallen foe to his feet."

Hindu Family and Freudian Theory

M. N. BANERJEE

SOcial, moral and religious rules for the guidance of the Hindu in every walk of life and suitable rituals for different occasions have been laid down in the Dharma Śāstras, Smritis and Tantras. The evolution and constitution of the Hindu family have been admirably delineated in Mayne's Hindu law. The members of the Hindu family are subjected to many taboos. Buhler's 'Laws of Manu', Alberuni's 'India', Barth's 'Religion of India', the Charaka Samhita and other books give a very comprehensive idea of the manners and customs of the Hindus.

No society ever remains in a static condition. There is no denying the fact, that with the impact of western culture and with growing economic difficulties, the bonds holding the different members of the Hindu family together have been fast breaking down. Relaxation of the sense of duty to other members of the family is in evidence and there is greater individual demand for a rise in the standard of living. The maelstrom of the fast changing economic structure of society and the present political conceptions have accelerated the disintegration of the Hindu family and have affected the religious ideas more than any of its other ideals. To follow the possible consequences of disruption of the family, it will be necessary to discuss the basic social

conceptions that differentiate the Hindu family from others born of the Aryan patriarchal culture. It must be remembered that in consequence of local differences brought about by the impacts of other cultures and the original ethnic difference, Hindu culture did not equally affect all people who came to be known as Hindus. There are Hindus and Hindus. In spite of these variations there are common basic concepts in the constitution of the different types of Hindu families. It is this foundation that is being assailed at the present time and the Hindu family is fast approaching the English or the American model.

Nature of Hindu Family.—A Hindu family is usually larger than an English or an American one. Married brothers and sons with their wives and children often live in the same joint orthodox Hindu family under one head; the family, however, generally disrupts on the death of the father. Brothers, uncles and nephews in many cases continue to live together, each contributing to the total cost proportionally to his income. Due respect is shown to the different male and female members of the family according to their age and relational status. The father, brothers and uncles may get financial help from sons, brothers and nephews who are however generally guided in such

matters by the willingness or otherwise of their wives and children. In a joint family it is considered obligatory for the earning members to support the non-earning ones and the bonds of joint family snap when the well-to-do refuse to help those in need or when the jealousy of the comparatively poorer members increases to a point that makes joint family life impossible. Cases were not rare, fifty years back, when even more than three or four generations of coparceners of agnates and cognates were found to live together under the joint family system all enjoying some amount of security against wants. There was a custom in certain parts of the country amongst some of the wealthier higher castes to accommodate married daughters and sons-in-law and their families for two or three successive generations within the joint family. Maintenance of indigent widowed daughters and sisters with or without children devolved on the family. It may be pointed out in this connection that the Bengal School of Hindu Law, viz., the Dayabhaga, recognises the claims of daughters and their sons just next to those of the widowed wife of a sonless man in the matter of devolution of property. This was responsible to some extent in bringing cognates into a Hindu joint family. The Dayabhaga stands out as the advocate of individualistic trend in Hindu society and it has fostered the custom of partition of ancestral property. The Dayabhaga did away with the old Hindu principle of equality of rights of the father and the son in the grandfather's property.

Marriage, Sex Relations and Rules of Conduct.—Hindu religion embraces the whole structure of society in all its aspects and it evolved a body of rules affecting the conduct of individuals in a family in various directions. Religion and society were very closely knit together. Every duty and obligation was given a religious stamp. Hindu society according to *dharma* or the binding rule was founded on *varṇa* or the caste system and *āśrama* or the stages of an

individual's life. The people in the society were divided into four castes or divisions with mutual relation and inter-dependence. Men of letters and science were held in high esteem. They belonged to the first division. Those who protected the society, property and cattle and the intelligentsia from hostile aggression and who policed and governed the people formed the second division. Persons engaged in various crafts, industries, agriculture, trades and commerce—both internal and external—formed the third division. The rest forming the labour population constituted the fourth division. The four divisions gradually became hereditary institutions and formed the original four castes; in order of hierarchy they were called the Brāhmaṇa, the Kṣatriya, the Vaiśya and the Śūdra. In the course of historical process the original custom of inter-marriage between the castes was much restricted. At first a man of a higher caste could marry a girl of a lower caste with ease but there was the bar against a man of lower caste marrying a girl from a higher one and the offsprings born of such marriage were looked down upon. This system of inter-caste marriage was later on prohibited and the various mixed castes that had already developed out of such marriages were ordained not to marry outside their own respective groups. The four original castes thus became many.

The Four Stages of Life.—The system of *āśrama* was originally meant for the upper three castes only. The first *āśrama* was that of Brahmacharya or student's life. After initiation ceremonies the son was sent as an apprentice to an Āchārya or Guru or Professor for training in different professions. He was to live in the house of the teacher as a member of his family and he had to stay there a number of years till he acquired proficiency in his trade and was in a position to practise it independently himself. In the case of the Brāhmaṇa the apprenticeship began generally at the age of eight, sometimes even at the age of five. The student

was enjoined to a strict moral code of abstinence from all sorts of sex stimulation. The bringing up of boys outside the family environments helped to smooth out many angularities and emotional disturbances which are likely to be accentuated in the student's own family abode. After completion of his apprenticeship the boy returned home. He was then considered ripe for marriage generally with a girl 15 years younger. He lived with his parents, brothers and other agnates and took up the family avocation. When the head of the family attained the age of fifty he retired from active life and pursued religious practices in right earnest in some forest home. In some cases wives followed their husbands to the forest and sometimes even reared children there. This retirement from the turmoil of worldly life was called *Vānaprastha*. The last stage that was ordained was known as *Bhikshā* or the stage of the absolute recluse without any attachment of any kind. The recluse lived on alms and had no social obligations.

The system of *āśrama* is now practically extinct. Nowadays nobody is sent to the family of an *Āchārya* for serving as an apprentice. The free thinkers amongst the Hindus do not attach much importance to the caste system and a larger number of inter-caste marriages are taking place. The majority of the Hindus, however, observe caste restrictions, at least for purposes of marriage. The depressed castes are now seeking advantages that they could not aspire to in the past.

Status of Woman.—Very high values were attached to the ideal of chastity in women, divorce and remarriages of widows not being approved by custom and usage. Hindu marriage is not a contract entered into out of love between the parties, but a sacrament. Parents and guardians were enjoined to get their daughters and sisters married early before puberty set in. Hindu society advocated the ideal of securing a bridegroom for every bride, the earlier the better.

Among some castes the practice degenerated into an institution of child marriages. The scheme aimed at getting a husband for a girl at least once in her life. Old spinsters were rarely found in Hindu society. To enter into marriage for the purpose of having a son was the bounden duty imposed by the *śāstras* and custom on every man. The demented, the cripple, the impotent and those persons who were naturally averse to trials of the worldly life were, however, considered unfit for marriage. In short it was a cardinal tenet of the Hindu culture to induce people to take to married life irrespective of their financial position. The insistence on marriage specially at an early age for the girl, the existence of an elaborate system of taboos concerning sex relations, eating and free mixing together with the recognition of prostitutes as safety valve for sex urge, worked to a large extent to minimise among Hindus the frequency of overt homosexuality and other perversions. Sex perversions appear to have been more common amongst people of other old Aryan cultures like the Greeks and the Romans. The Hindu social and family life also mitigates political unrest and upheavals and made the people law abiding, peaceful and adjusted to their fate. The Hindu's belief in the transmigration of the soul which connotes man's elevation and degradation according to the law of Karma—the system of ethical code which is backed by psychological reasons and supported by the Hindu medical works like the *Charaka* served to smoothen the angularities of individuals in every direction. The elaborate social and moral rules tended to produce generally well-behaved citizens with lofty ideals of mutual help, collaboration, respect and obedience. It fostered an ideal of plain living and high thinking.

Training of the Hindu Woman.—The behavioural training evolved in the growing girl a very high degree of modesty peculiar to Hindu culture. Although there was no attempt to prevent exposure of the genitalia

of young children the growing girl and the woman were subjected to the *pardah*, and all forms of over exhibitionism were prohibited. Unlicensed sexual stimulation and consequent frustration were thus prevented to a great extent.

The Hindu culture tended to set up for the woman the ideal that her personality should merge into that of her husband as far as possible. She was traditionally taught to identify herself with her husband in matters mundane and spiritual. The sages thought this was essential for the weal of the family and could best be secured if the wife was brought into it at an early age when her personality was in an elastic condition. The wife had to adjust herself to her mother-in-law, the sisters of her husband and the wives of her husband's brothers. She was to be weaned thoroughly from her father's family so as to be able to reconcile herself to the jealousies and hostilities of the different members of her husband's family. The woman's ideal was to help the men folk in every possible way doing all sorts of household duties such as cleaning, washing, drawing water, cooking, rearing children, tending cattle and household pets, nursing the sick and the aged and looking after the feeding of all in the family. The woman's duties were rather hard and exacting. Hindu custom advocated subservience of the woman to man in all stages of her life—in childhood to the father, in youth to the husband and his elderly kins and to the sons when widowed. But in her sphere of activity she was supreme as the mistress of the household and her voice was heard with reverence in all matters concerning the family and its relation with other families. The services of women in the family were recognised in Hindu Law by the imposition of a legal obligation charging properties to provide for daughter's or sister's marriage expenses including dowry, by recognising 'woman's property' of *Strīdhana* which could neither be used nor appropriated by anybody except with the consent of the owner, and by

conferring widow's life interest to the husband's property in case she was without a son. These provisions are hardly to be found in any other old system of law.

The Changing Times.—During recent times the dependence of women or men as depicted above has been fast disappearing. Girls belonging to enlightened families are resorting to college education with the object of seeking independent means of support. The shyness and the graces of modesty of the old type are almost gone. Hindu girls now freely move about in streets and public conveyances unaccompanied by any relation or any chaperon. The prospects of suitable marriage at an early age are now practically non-existent as a result of the terrible economic distress. The average marriageable age has advanced by about ten years in the case of girls and by 15 years in the case of young men. Girls are being married after 20, men after 30. Marriage has become a very serious problem in Hindu society.

The spiritual outlook of Hindu culture has come into clash with modern materialistic civilization. Thus at the present time all the basic principles of Hindu culture seem to be rudely shaken. The rise of a mechanical and industrial age has resulted in the drafting of men to factories, the army and other similar institutions. There has been a migration of able bodied men away from their houses with consequent impairment of family ties. Selfishness is on the increase and people now seldom care for religion and the duties and obligations imposed by it. The strong super-ego built by the Hindu culture is perhaps not in consonance with the march of time.

Absence of Repressive Regulations.—For preserving the mental health of the people Hindu medical writers have insisted on the importance of *Prajñāparādha* or the sense of guilt of having transgressed knowingly certain moral principles. They have discussed in detail the physical factors of mental disturbance such as *Ayoga*, *Atiyoga* and *Milhyāyoga* of the *Indriyas*, i.e., absence of contact,

excessive contact and false contact of the senses with their respective objects. Self punishment in the shape of expiations of various types were generally recommended and resorted to to eradicate and mitigate the sense of guilt. It may be noted in passing that one of the measures recommended by the Hindu physicians for the cure of mental disease is revival of memory. The joint Hindu family consisting of a large number of individuals of both sexes of varying ages in different types of relationship, afforded opportunities of socialisation of the instincts and of learning many things that would not be possible in small families consisting of only the father, the mother and two or three children. The drawbacks inherent in a small family for the eldest child, the youngest child and the only child could hardly develop and make themselves felt in the presence of many others of similar age; and under conditions in which the singularity of the conduct of the parents could not manifest itself in the presence of many elders in the family. One is tempted to say that in the orthodox type of the joint Hindu family conditions obtain which are in consonance with the mental hygiene tenets of modern Freudians. There is no early weaning producing oral frustration and its psychic consequences, no premature efforts to force regular and cleanly habits regarding urination and defecation, no covering of the genitalia of children upto 4 or 5 years to excite the phallic phase, no virulence of castration threat and no premature tabooing of sex matters. The rules of conduct prescribed for young children approaching puberty and the segregation of girls of 7 or 8 from boys, the insistence on the observance by girls of rules of modesty and propriety at this age, the inculcation of the ideals of purity and their prepubertal marriage help to stabilize the girl's mental balance. She learns to look to the interests of the husband and of the other members of his household rather than to her own. She has to care not only for her own children but also for the other children in the family.

The relation of the husband to the girl is somewhat similar to that of the Roman husband to whom the wife was like a daughter in matters of discipline. The conjugal right was mutual: the husband was bound to satisfy the wife's sexual craving and the wife the husband's. The ancient custom went farther: it was the duty of a man to satisfy any woman's craving if she sought for it. There is evidence of it in the Mahābhārata and the Chhāndogya Upanishad. It was the bounden duty of the husband to satisfy the wife after the expiry of every monthly period. To allow a post-menstrual period to pass without a coitus so long as a son was not born was a sin on the part of the husband. Men often resorted to special measures to be able to perform coitus satisfactorily. Kāmasāstra or sexology was studied both by the male and the female. It may be asserted that the Hindu code of life pays a great importance to the question of sex satisfaction of women. No preventive measure was ever advocated and the woman was not denied the intimate contact of sex organs. The frustration of reception of ejaculation was hardly known.

The Freudian Theory.—The applicability or otherwise of the Freudian theory to Hindu family life may be discussed from two standpoints, viz. by noting the general and social characteristics of the individuals comprising the family; and secondly by a study of individual psycho-analytic case records. It may be said at the outset that the basic principles of Freud's discoveries are applicable to all societies irrespective of their ethnic stock, culture and climatic and local environment. Freud discovered that the sex feeling is generally evoked by frictional activation of the mucous membranes during suckling, defecation and urination and by the stimulation of the other different extrogenous zones of the body of the baby. The feeling thus generated blindly attaches itself to the object responsible for the stimulation. The first love object is the mother who feeds the child from her breast and ministers to all its wants. This original

sex feeling directed to the mother is termed the Oedipus complex.

There may be twists and variations in the Oedipus situation regarding details due to difference of culture, manners and custom. For instance, among polyandrous people, in matriarchal societies, among certain stocks of the Japanese people in whom the girl is made to take up prostitution with the object of acquiring a thorough knowledge of men and things before entering into married life there may be some individual differences in the Oedipus complex. There is no doubt that in the patriarchal culture of the Aryan type the teachings of Freud hold good.

Sex in Hinduism.—The Hindus attach great importance to sex in connection with their religious practices. The sex instinct as Nature's instrument for procreation is recognised by the Indian Tantriks as the primordial factor in the preservation of creation. Sex worship in two forms has been in vogue in India from time immemorial. The worship of the *linga* and of the *yonī*, that is of the male and of the female aspects respectively of creative energy, form the core of devotion towards the male and female deities of the Hindu Pantheon. The emblem of Shiva and the esoteric image of goddess Kālī according to the meditative formula are essentially the same. There are Tantriks who are worshippers of the Mother, while the Vaishnavas seek the spiritual upliftment of the soul through the identification of the devotee in one of the various aspects of situation of love with the supreme God-head who represents the Father. Constant meditation or contemplation of *Madhura-Bhāva* or the amour of god with his consort and the ecstatic identification with the consort of the deity have been recommended as means of salvation. Songs pertaining to love of Kṛishṇa and Rādhā give the people a great scope of enjoyment and pleasure. Festivals of sexual origin are numerous. Amongst the Hindus there is not much of prudery regarding sex and people look upon

it as a very important constituent of human life. Hindu psychology of sex and love made considerable progress which has not yet been surpassed in many directions. There are innumerable examples of Oedipus situation in the mythology of the Hindus. In Hindu psychological literature we do not find mention of the automatic development of love and sex feeling directed to the parent of the opposite sex, i.e., of the Oedipus complex nor of the gradual evolution of primacy of the genital zones, nor of the connection of sex feeling with pleasure from the very first year of life. The latency of sex urge for some years before the approach of puberty and the polymorphoperverse character of sex impulse were also unknown. In fact though the Hindu analytical brain had labelled the sex organs as the organs of bliss or pleasure and although Hindu mystics described the state of realisation of the Brahma as akin to the satisfaction of sex feeling there was complete ignorance of the facts discovered by Freud.

Oedipus Complex in Hindu Boys and Girls.—Ignorance of any natural law does not interfere with its operation. On theoretical grounds one could assume that Freudian discoveries should be applicable to members of the Hindu family as much as to those constituting western families. In fact the case records of every analyst with experience of Hindu subjects corroborate the basic findings of Freud. All that Freud demonstrated with respect to his sexual theory, symbolism, the unconscious psychic mechanisms, etc., are also noticeable in the analyses of Hindu subjects. The psychoanalytic findings are true of all Indians whether Hindus, Mahomedans or Jews. As in Europeans so also in the Indian we come across the various phases of sexual development, viz. the oral sucking passive, the biting sadistic reaction to frustration against the mother, the anal phase with sense of pleasure to retention and expulsion of faeces etc. The later portion of anal stage

is generally followed by the phallic phase. In the case of the growing boy at the end of the third year there is the same narcissistic interest as in the European child in one's own genitalia, pleasure in the idea of possession of it and touching (masturbation), seeing and exhibiting it, the tendency to observe the structural differences in the sex organs of boys and girls. There is the comparison of self with the father and with the mother with attendant feelings of superiority and inferiority resulting from the idea of the possession of penis or its absence. During the phallic phase the attachment to the mother is distinctly erotically toned. Parental attempts at suppression of infantile sex urge and curiosity and of masturbation by prohibitions and threats lead to the formation of the super-ego in the Indian child as much as in the European. All the concomitants of sex love are also present, viz. jealousy, rivalry, hate, death wish and wish to procreate children out of mother or father. This is the Oedipus complex. Frequently it is incited by the observation of the primal scene. Oedipus complex is attended with a sense of guilt and is only imperfectly resolved in most cases. This is the greatest discovery of Freud. This complex is to be noticed in Hindu boys and girls from the 15th month upto the end of the 6th year. This is the original guilt situation to which all moral transgressions are ultimately to be traced. Castration fear and the fear of death are to be traced to this Oedipus situation. The evolution of the phallic phase culminating in the development of the Oedipus wish and its imperfect resolution is seen to be followed by a period of latency of the sexual feelings. The latency is seldom sudden or complete. The innate sex urge being banned and labelled bad by the super-ego both with respect to its aim and its object in the family circle, the interest in the opposite sex seems for sometime to be thwarted; the tendency to mix and fraternise with individuals of one's own

sex and towards homosexuality develops. Normally homosexuality is largely sublimated into friendship with the development of overt hetero-sexuality at puberty or adolescence. This is the pattern of sexual development noticed in Hindu analysands and it is identical with that found in European subjects.

In connection with the development of the Oedipus situation surrogates substitutes and imagoes of the mother and the father play an important role. Aunts, elder sisters, maid servants, nurses or any other elderly women are likely to be involved in the sexual situation as mother substitutes owing to the factor of personal contact. The remark applies to uncles, elder brothers, servants, teachers or elderly persons who may stand in the child's unconscious as father substitutes. Sex feelings normally develop in connection with objects in immediate contact with the child. The number of members is larger in Hindu than in European or American families. When the Oedipus situation undergoes resolution it is generally found that distant surrogates only first appear to be concerned with the process and it is only when the core is reached that the mother or the father imago appears. It might be thought that the large number of parental imagoes in Hindu society would confer immunity against fixation but analytical experience fails to support that view. Fixation occurs as easily in Hindu homes as in any other type of family.

No comparative data are available regarding incidence of mental disorders in Hindu and non-Hindu families. One may however state without much fear of contradiction that mental maladjustment is on the increase owing to the growing intensity of the struggle for existence. It is yet to be seen whether any particular social organization can evolve any special method to cope with the situation and thus succeed in conserving the mental health of its constituent members.

Nation-Building Through Physical Education

O. MOHANASUNDARAM

Need for Social Planning.—Health, physical fitness and ability to earn a decent livelihood are matters of very great national importance. Side by side with economic planning, social planning should be undertaken on a nation-wide scale. These social schemes should include standardised plans for parks, playgrounds, sports-fields, stadia, gymnasia, swimming pools, open-spaces in connection with housing colonies, indoor recreation centres and community centres in the cities, as well as provision of camping sites, sanatoria, rest-houses and recreation centres in the countryside. Suitable leadership is essential in providing these facilities and realising the maximum benefits from them. Through scientific planning we can generate health in our nation for life, work, joy and service. The standard of living may thus be raised and our nation now sullen, discontented and pessimistic may, in course of time, be transformed into a virile and exuberant one commanding the respect of other nations by its inherent strength. Such achievement should be born out of the urge for freedom and national self-respect. Naturally, it should be undertaken by the people for their own benefit under proper leadership. It is high time for one and all of our countrymen to realise that the problem of health and physical education is a national problem of the first magnitude and that we should apply ourselves to its solution with all the energy and power we possess.

Physical Education in Social Services.—In an ideal society, there is no need for any social work because all functions of the State will be harnessed for the services of the citizens. The spirit of social service will become the very life-breath of its administration. In such an intelligently ordered society, recreation and physical activities need no excuse or reason for existence. It becomes a fundamental part

of the rhythm of daily life. In an imperfect and diseased society as of today, it becomes an imperative need. In addition to training the body and the mind, the soul should be awakened and the heart educated to feel and be alive to the pangs and privations of the suffering humanity. This, latter, can be a distinct contribution that India, by her traditional tolerance and religiousness, is best fitted to make for the enrichment of the philosophy of modern physical education. Here is a field of constructive national service which offers immense scope to the ideals and energies of our youth.

To realise the significance of physical education, we should view it in the background of the changing panorama of the problems of the country, namely, political, economic, health, educational, industrial, rural and urban. Health and physical education and recreation have a distinct contribution to make in each one of these fields. The strength of the nation will depend upon the physical fitness of its individuals. A nation of weaklings can never claim, attain or retain freedom. In the economic field, health and ability to earn a livelihood go together. Ill-health forbodes impaired efficiency which in its turn lowers the earning capacity and creates a vicious circle. In planning public health and a programme of preventive medicine and town-planning of urban and rural areas, play-centres can act the role of 'lungs', counteract the evil effects of slums and slum habits and generate health and social consciousness. In tackling juvenile and adult delinquency, in the institutional care and training of children, in the psychiatric field of medicine, in industrial welfare and in the various other fields of social work, play and recreational programmes have become indispensable instruments to elevate the human personality.

In education, 'the play-way' is a recognised method which is advocated by our foremost educationists.

Physical Education vs. Militarism.—

Patriotism, militarism and physical training have always moved hand in hand. If we try to fathom the real motive behind the great interest in physical education in the many countries of the world during the recent decades, we will find that it had its root in patriotism. The totalitarian countries have used them as medium of indoctrinating its children, young people and adults with definite social, economic and political ideas, aims and purposes. So, it was no wonder that the greater part of Europe was an armed camp even before the present world conflagration started. In England, in spite of the saying that 'the battle of Waterloo was won on the playing fields of Eton' physical education was more connected with general education than with military training. It was more an expression of the people who enjoy play for its own sake. This urge, of course, is born out of a higher standard of life and health consciousness. In the U. S. A. the play movement, from the beginning primarily a social one, has been the foundation for building a virile nation. In Soviet Russia, along with economic planning there had been extensive social planning which included planned parks for rest and culture, sports, aquatics, aeronautics and recreation institutions. There were 10,000 playing fields and 3,500 gymnasias which the Soviet Union built between 1921 and 1941.

Though militarism has exploited physical education a great deal, yet the ideologies, principles and philosophy of the two are poles apart. Militarism is no respecter of individuals or personalities. It believes in making cannon-fodder of humanity however laudable the motivating factors may be and whatever precautions may be taken to minimise the casualties. Physical education, at its best, enables individuals to live life in an abundant way, fosters human

brotherhood and in the words of William and Brownell, 'works for the realization of the highest level of the richness and fulness of the richest kind of living'.

Evolution of the Play Movement.—It will be interesting to trace the evolution of the play movement and estimate the role it has played in the changing civilization of the human race. Play is universal and it is found where life exists, even in places untouched by our so-called civilization. The history of the paintings, sculpture and literature of the world conclusively prove that play has developed from being an unorganised activity to the present day systematised and scientifically based aspect of life and civilization. In the primitive man play was just the by-product of the instinct of self-preservation and race preservation, evidenced either during his quest for food or a mate. In the eternal struggle for existence and in the process of survival of the fittest, running, leaping and fighting formed the fundamental activities. The play life of the child was carefully planned to train it for the strains and struggles of life. This was real education in the broadest sense of the term; no force was employed nor was there any rigid discipline displayed. Nothing was done to curb the individuality or stunt the personality of the child. Sense of confidence was fostered in the young ones, which in later life developed into courageous leadership. Through the laborious process which might be termed the evolution of the human race, the man has developed a human mechanism, the foundation of which is physical activity. Through ambition, desire for conquest and creative genius, he has succeeded in harnessing the inestimable energy of natural forces and has substituted it for human energy. This change has brought about a marked deterioration in the human physique. Our modern civilization through time-saving and energy-saving devices, has robbed us of the many natural activities which were imperative for existence during the pre-machine age. Luckily

for us, we have been provided with the safety-valves in the shape of increased leisure and recreation. Creative minds gave shape and form to these fundamental natural movements and initiated the era of modern games and sports.

The Child and the Play.—The child grows by activity. Play is a serious fact of its life and is its very birth-right. It is its medium of self-expression and growth of personality. Through social participation the primitive savage in the child is trained in socially acceptable ways. Play and recreational activities bring the children together, develop in them a sense of fairness and co-operation and teach them to submerge their individual interest in that of the group. Records of playgrounds the world over show that delinquency among juveniles and criminal activities among the youth have been considerably reduced in areas where play-grounds are established. If children have opportunities of using their pent up energies in parks, playgrounds, gymnasias and in other wholesome ways they will not insist on committing acts that jeopardise public welfare. The child which develops tuberculosis, defective posture, vicious and immoral tendencies is usually the child that has missed the priceless values of vigorous, recreative, health-giving and organised play.

It is interesting to see how other countries have cared for their children. Communism holds, in common with democracy, that children represent the power of the future and consequently they must be given the best of care and education. No nation which has neglected the physical culture of its growing generations has come to the forefront. America whose writers have described the 20th Century as the Century of the Child, records peak achievement in the care and training of children. President Hoover's White House Conference on Child Health and Protection drew up a Children's Charter in which they have stressed, among other things, the need 'for every child from

birth through adolescence, of promotion of health, including health instruction, and health programme, wholesome physical and mental recreation, with teachers and leaders adequately trained.' Soviet Russia has organised extensive services for the care of mothers and children. Children's Villages in the Parks for Rest and Culture are unique institutions in the world. In short, all free nations have realised that the children bear the promise of a better world, that the children of today are the citizens of tomorrow, that they are the real wealth of the nation and that they need to get the right start to life.

It is sad to relate that in contrast with these, India records the highest infantile mortality in the world. The mortality within 5 years of life in India constitutes a formidable figure in India. Even the unfed and underfed skinny children of the slums and the dirty streets need the tonic of active play. No where in the world is the child so exploited as in India. The child worker is drawn from the homes of the middle-classes and poorer classes and is worked either in the house itself or outside. Our congested homes, our schools without playgrounds, neighbourhoods devoid of open spaces and our civilization in general have all conspired to steal away play from the lives of our young people. Is it any wonder that we are the shortest-lived people in the world?

Education through Play.—Physical education is no more connected with mere muscle culture. It is ultra-education as most modern educationists have recognised it. It stands for the education and harmonious development of organic vigour, of physical alertness, establishment of wholesome social habits and sentiments and above all the building up of character and the qualities that go to make good citizens. The physical educationist constantly endeavours to create situations in which the success of these responses depends on the measure of intellectual discrimination and observation they use, as well as the ability

to adjust themselves to and to co-operate with the responses of their associates. It is in recognition of this fact that Froebel, Pestolozzi and Montessorie have all stressed learning through the medium of play. The method works at its best in the playgrounds and in the camps, where situations are created in which the individual is so much more spontaneous than in the class-room, that he naturally expresses himself perfectly, freely and unguardedly, and gives a better opportunity to those who are watching over him to observe and educate responses which may be anti-social, such as those indicating selfishness, aggressiveness and deceitfulness. It is possible to make class-room education as enjoyable as play and less irksome than work, and make play as educational as it can be made. And further, in the class-rooms there is not that opportunity which exists in the playground for intimate contact and fellowship. Teachers with vision, character and purpose have unique opportunity to influence intimately the lives of the growing generations that come under their care, inculcate ideals of abundant living, bring under one fold individuals of different social status, caste, creed, religion and nationality so that they may feel members of one family.

Our National Heritage.—We are an ancient nation, with a civilization which can be traced back to at least 3,000 years. The life, then, was simple but well-ordered. Our ancients knew well the art of living. They did not create for themselves the many social complications and perplexities which are characteristic of our present day civilization. There was creative zeal in their work and work was a pastime. It ceased to be a task. There was not much of a distinction between work and play, labour and leisure, education and recreation. There was plenty of mutual aid, accommodation and appreciation. The spirit of service pervaded every walk of life. By its intrinsic worth and traditional tolerance, our civilization has not only withstood the onslaught of

many and varied cultures but has assimilated them in the process, and emerged out of these contacts richer and finer. It is a hopeful sign of our times that we see today, after a stage of dormancy, a renaissance of our ancient culture in every field, in art, craft, dance, literature and what not.

In physical education as in every other field, we have a rich heritage of which we can be rightly proud. We get a glimpse of these in our memorable epics. While the fighting forces of ancient India were well equipped in the many manly arts of wrestling, archery, fencing, sword-play, horse-riding, hunting, swimming, boxing, etc., Yoga-Āsanas, Prāṇāyāms, Sūrya Namaskars, Dhunds, Bhaithaks and other indigenous gymnastics, games, contests and activities were practised by all and sundry, for the attainment, and maintenance of a sound body and mind. Even in these as in every other field, the spiritual attitude was all-pervading. In the military art of killing the enemy, ethics and chivalry of a high order prevailed and elevated humanity much above the beasts. There was no ruthlessness in competition and conflict, no barbarity even in the bitterest struggle. In normal day-to-day life, work amidst the rough, rustic, rural atmosphere and the facing of the rigours of Mother Nature, made people fit for life and service. When the earthly abode of the human soul was viewed as the temple of God and was hence enjoined by our scriptures to be kept in health and cleanliness, it is no wonder that physical exercise was gone through with real religious fervour, devotion and regularity and had a great mass appeal. Thus, health and keep-fit consciousness had a religious appeal. Even our many schools of classical dancing were dedicated to the Divine and our folk-dances and other rhythmic activities were features of the many religious festivities of our country.

Present Condition.—While gloating over our brilliant past and emphasising the importance of physical education, we cannot

be blind to the stark realities of the present conditions in our country. The utter poverty of the masses, mal-nutrition, starvation, poor resistance to diseases, inadequate medical relief, illiteracy, ignorance, superstition and a legion of other problems are harrowing facts, if only we have eyes to see, ears to hear and hearts to feel. Let us remind ourselves of the fact that India records the lowest expectancy of human life. We have the largest infantile mortality in the world. People in our country have poor standard of life and the per-capita income is one of the lowest. Only a negligible percentage of people are literate. The health conditions of services are deplorable and inadequate. The incidence of all preventable diseases is the greatest in our country. Constantly recurring epidemics and prevalence of contagious diseases like tuberculosis, etc., cannot be adequately met with due to inadequate food, insanitary conditions, congested housing, poor resistance and the low ebb of life.

Recreation and Leisure.—Disraeli has well said that 'increased leisure and increased recreation are the two civilizers of man.' If what we see in the present war is the symbol of our modern civilization, it is evident that the leisure of the mechanised age is being misused, recreation and physical fitness movement prostituted, and the very vitals of our civilization destroyed before our eyes. A nobler civilization of the nations' leisure alone can better humanity and elevate civilization.

The way in which the man-in-the-street spends his hours of leisure is a matter of great social significance. The leisure, if rightly used, can result in self-improvement, self-expression, and cultural advancement. But there is much truth in the maxim that the idle man's mind is the devil's workshop. More than 90% of the criminal acts are committed during the leisure hours. This is more true of juvenile delinquency, the incidence of which is higher during the vacation. The hours of leisure are usually hours

of danger, often misdirected and ill-spent in dissipation, excitement and demoralization. The drugs, opium and alcohol are resorted to for 'escape' from the anguish of life and for temporary feeling of exhilaration and contentment. While the taverns and commercialised public recreational places such as cinemas, gambling places, etc., are well patronised by our labouring classes, we still find some people reading newspapers, magazines, novels, etc., perhaps of a doubtful character; some drink tea and hear way-side music in some petty restaurant; some smoke away their hours in blessed idleness or in the company of gossip mongers; some gamble away their time and money on anything that may come along their way; some get mixed up in processions and meetings, work themselves into a high frenzy and come into conflict with law; only a few who have developed active habits of play actually take part in sports and games while many enjoy as passive on-lookers and critics. Undoubtedly, there exists a craving for social participation and to escape the monotony of routine living. There is an unquenchable thirst for knowledge, may be physical, intellectual, aesthetic, cultural or spiritual. There is the urge for leadership, excitement, thrills, self-expression and self-sacrifice. The modern recreation movement with its programme of games, sports, reading-rooms, libraries, lectures, debates, music, cinema, drama, camps, outings, community recreation and celebration of festivities can alone accept the challenge of the problem of leisure and use it for the elevation and preservation of human values.

Recreation in 'Public Health' and 'Town-Planning':—Our cities have grown in a chaotic way into sprawling towns. They grow and become set, even before we realise the necessity of planning. Even the extensions of the greater city areas are not well planned, with any vision of the future developments and needs. We tolerate many slums, cropping up like mushrooms all over

the cities. What we need is a sweeping policy to do away with these blighted spots which are the breeding places of plague, pestilence, vice and crime. We need Improvement Trusts in our cities to tackle the problem of housing on a scientific basis, by providing modern tenements with plenty of light, space, privacy, adequate transport and facilities for healthy social and community life. We need to use the extensive fore shores of our port towns for better purposes than merely as idlers' paradise. Public recreation on a comprehensive scale, suitable for both sexes and all ages, can be organised in these "ozone-areas."

A city wanting in these features which are necessary for the fruitful and happy life of its people, falls short of its highest possibilities. There is nothing in the city-plan that may contribute more vitally to the active life of its people than appropriate provision for active recreation which provides enough sunlight, release of creative energies and contact with nature. Good city-planing calls for a variety of outdoor play-areas which fall under the following types:—1. Home play yards. 2. Play-lots for children of pre-school age, within apartment buildings. 3. Neighbourhood playground for boys and girls. 4. Play-fields for adults and youths. 5. Parks,—landscaped areas with play facilities. 6. Swimming pools, gymnasia, Thalim-khanas and Akhadas. 7. Stadia for mass demonstrations, youth rallies, etc. 8. Community recreation and service centres. 9. Organised foreshores for active recreation, music, etc. 10. Reservations in the country for camping, hiking, picnicking, Sanatoria, Rest-houses, Youth-Hostels, Convalescent Homes, etc.

AVENUES OF SERVICE: 1. *Health Education.*—We emphasise the need for an adequate programme of graded health education in our educational institutions which will include health services, opportunities for the practice and inculcation of health habits. As far more important than mastering Milton, Shakespeare, Southey, Kalidasa and Fir-

dausi, our young people will have to be told to cultivate an erect posture, to take care of their body, hands, legs, noses, eyes, teeth, ears, organs, muscles and nerves. They should know something about the hygiene of living, of housing, of food, of dress, of matting. 'The curriculum of studies should take cognisance of these things as well as those that provide recreation and amusement of a healthy and edifying character. And, it is necessary for our girls to have some knowledge of home-craft, mother-craft, child-care and training. Medical inspection should be linked up with the treatment of defects discovered and arrangements should be made for the follow-up work. In addition to Doctors, Physical Directors, Nurses and Health Visitors, there should be social workers for individual case work among problem children and problem parents. Provision for mid-day meals in schools is a dire necessity to combat the malnutrition which is rampant due to chronic poverty in the country.

2. *School Physical Education.*—The urgent reforms of school physical education can be stated thus:—

a. Health and Physical educations shall form a vital part of intra-curricular programme.

b. Our educational institutions shall provide adequate playgrounds and facilities for 'Play-for-all' and 'Play-all-games' programme.

c. Adequate number of teachers with professional training, adequate salary and status, shall be in charge of the health and physical education programme.

d. Promotion of pupils shall depend, in the first place, upon the health and physical fitness and their capacity to stand the strain of an all-round and comprehensive education.

3. *College Physical Education.*—Physical education as a science should be a course in the curriculum. Our colleges have greater responsibility in preparing our young men for life and work. College education is yet

PLAY-EQUIPMENT IN RELATION TO AGE AND ATTRACTIONS FOR PRE-SCHOOL AND SCHOOL BOYS

AGE	1 upto 3 yrs.	3 upto 6 yrs.	6 upto 12 yrs.	12 upto 15 yrs.	15 upto 18 yrs.
Period	Baby	Childhood		Early Adolescence	Later Adolescence
Place	Home	Nursery	Ele. School	Sec. School	High School
Attractions	Sound Shape Taste Colour	Creation Destruction Manipulation Moving articles	Mobility Manual labour Self-help Work idea	Invention Skill-thirst Competition Team Spirit Rhythm	Pleasure Recreation Exercise Co-operation Competition
Indoor or shade play equipments and activities	Rattle Ball Wooden Toys Beads Play-blocks Wooden pegs	Pyramids Puzzle boxes Hammer & Pags Peg-clock Pull-alongs Building blocks	Tricycle Scooter Rocking Horse Hand Cart Wheelbarrow Toys for water and sand play	Complicated mosaics House builders Meccano sets Hand work in clay, paper, leather, wire, beads, knitting Group rhythmic activities	Science Lab. Indoor games Music Drama, paintings, art, etc. Indoor Gym.
Outdoor Play Apparatus, Games, Sports etc.	Sand Play Safe Wooden Platform Space for free-play	Sand-box Chair swings Small-slide Low climbing device Reserved spot for play Simple games Story plays Imitation Musical plays	Sand Box Wading pool Swings See-Saws Sliding-Chute Horizontal ladder Travelling Rings Balance Beam Giant Stride Jungle Gym. Low climbing and sliding devices Area for free play and low organised games Hunting, chasing and running play Traffic play Individual play with marbles, tops, kites, etc. Nature study Museum Rhythmic activities Dramatics	Swings Horizontal Bar Horizontal ladder Rings, Trapeze Ocean Wave Giant Stride Team Games Simple minor group games Small-area and Big-area major games Indian games Simple track and field sports events Swimming, Boxing, Tumbling Cubbing, Camping	Horizontal bars Parallel bars Horse, Buck Roman Rings Trapeze Selected minor group games Small-area and big-area Major games Indian games Track and Field sports Aquatics Boxing Wrestling Camping Scouting Indian Gymnastics

The lists cannot be exhaustive. The groups are arbitrary and are quite elastic. The activities can be over-lapping. Programme making and planning should be in the hands of trained leadership.

In *Adulthood*, the play habit should be carried on, according to interest and capacity.

For *Girls*, from the period of early adolescence an entirely different programme of activities will have to be devised.

the privilege of a microscopic fraction of the population; therefore it is much more incumbent that each individual, in addition to self-improvement, should be charged with the task of serving, enlightening and enriching the lives of the less-privileged people. The colleges have the responsibility not

merely for self-development but also for leadership training. A rational scheme of physical education makes a valuable contribution to the social life of the University community by developing wholesome ideals and standards of conduct amongst its members.

4. *Physical Education for Girls and Women.*—Up to the primary school stage or early adolescence, girls and boys can have identical programme. But from then onwards, physical, psychological and emotional changes in these necessitate our planning different programmes for them. Nature prepares man to be strong and hardy to face the rigours of life, while it prepares women for the graceful and tender biological duties of motherhood. Naturally, our programme of physical education will have to aid, rather than run counter to what mother Nature has so carefully planned. Hence, it is obvious that evolving a scheme suited to the traditions, interest, health and growth of our womanhood is one of the most delicate and scientific tasks. Track and field games of speed, violence and toughness are from their nature unsuited for girls, while team sports requiring lesser organisation and group activities with rhythm and music like the Lezim, Kolattum Kummi, folk-dances and individual ones such as fencing, archery, tennis, golf, etc., appear well suited. For sheer beauty, art, expression, poise, music, rhythm, joy through effort and poetry, can anything excel our classical dancing, such as Bharata-Natya, Abhinaya, etc.? These activities are more becoming of our girls and are in keeping with our traditions and heritage just as the sarees lie gracefully and naturally on Indian women.

5. *Educational Institutions as Community Centres.*—It is of paramount importance that our educational institutions should create an urge in the minds of the students to serve the community, the neighbourhood and the nation at large. Such social education can be described as the education of the 'heart', the ability to see, feel and heal. If Schools and Colleges become real community centres they can contribute a great deal to the civic, social, health and keep-fit consciousness. Social investigations into the slum areas and studies in the socio-economic conditions of our people will be interesting

avocations during the vacations. Walking tours, outings, campings, etc. can invigorate our youths and harden them to face the struggles of life, softening their hearts at the same time to feel for the underprivileged and work for social justice and human betterment. In a comprehensive programme of physical education these extra-curricular activities should find ample encouragement. And further, it is an economic waste to utilise our school-plant and playground-plant for only a few hours during the day and for a few months during the year. Can they not be made use of for many more community activities and throughout the year?

6. *Recreation in Industries.*—Recreation is one of the most important items of industrial welfare. Labour in industries frequently works under conditions which are unhygienic, filled with noises, nerve-racking vibrations, dust, odours and stale indoor air. These put a strain upon the workers' mental equilibrium and physical resistance. Under such conditions, a well balanced scheme of organised recreation acts as a soothing balm to their tired nerves and rejuvenates them. This sphere of welfare work can contribute indirectly to the maximum production by keeping the workers fit and lessening absenteeism due to petty ailments which usually result from poor resistance. It can also bring about industrial harmony by building personal relationship, co-operation, team-work and loyalty and by offering opportunities for self-improvement and self-expression.

In addition to planning a central organisation which can co-ordinate the activities of the various clubs for the different games, there should be provision for indoor recreation through reading rooms, table-games, gymnastics, music, drama, cinema, hobby-clubs, as well as camping, picnicking, etc. A net-work of community centres in all the residential localities, established not only by the industrialists but by the Municipalities as well as the Governments, can

go a long way in brightening up the lives of the workers. These can become the oases in the desert of their existence. If these community centres are properly organised under suitable leadership and financial support, they can build up healthy inter-family and inter-communal fellowship and neighbourliness. Crowds can be turned into communities through creative activities. In short, these centres can become the training places for democratic living and good citizenship.

7. Community Service through Public Playgrounds.—In the hands of trained and resourceful leadership, the play activities in public playgrounds could be made the means to know the individual and communities intimately, knit them together in human brotherhood without the distinction of caste, creed, colour and nationality and lead them on into many channels of fruitful activity that will enrich their personalities. The playgrounds undoubtedly offer fresh, open-air, recreation and exercise and these are quite apparent even to the layman. The supervised and organised games, in addition, open opportunities for character building. Team work builds up discipline, co-operation and camaraderie. Extension activities can include adult education, night-school, reading rooms, lectures, debates, drama, cinema, concerts, camping, excursions, first-aid, home-nursing, unemployment bureau, sick-visiting, etc. In short, playground directors can become friends, guides and philosophers of the communities and carry the message of good living and cheer into many of the needy homes. If there are a string of playgrounds, the effectiveness of service can be manifold provided there is co-ordination and centralised guidance.

8. Rural Recreation.—There is need for a network of rural community centres, at least one in each village, which can tackle simultaneously the problems of finding the fundamentals of normal human existence, namely, food, clothing and shelter; pro-

blems of education—basic, technical, agricultural, adult, health and physical; problems of various vocations, co-operative farming, cottage industries, arts, handicrafts, co-operative marketing, etc.; problems of recreation and organisation of social and community life and the problems of social security. The role, which these community centres can play in rebuilding rural life cannot be too much emphasised.

Once the economy of the village is placed on a sound basis by this method of co-ordination of all the activities, we can go ahead in our scheme of putting more joy and merriment into the drab life of dwindling rural India. We can resurrect and revive the old-time village games and contests which have lost their glamour due to contact with the towns and the town-habits, and introduce such of those town-games that may suit our village conditions and finances. We should, however, place emphasis on team games of indigenous origin, organise teams everywhere and co-ordinate their activities through inter-club and inter-village leagues and tournaments. We can encourage wrestling, fencing, music, entertainments, folk dances, etc. We can steal a leaf from the Stakhanovism of Russia and make each man a hero, one who can handle the greatest weight of paddy or wheat, plough the greatest tract of land, raise the best crop in the village, make or handle the largest number of bricks or revets. We can put in healthy competitive idea of sports into agriculture, manual labour, handicrafts and arts. By setting the strong man of health and character as the ideal of the village, we can inspire growing generations with the ideals of full and glorious life.

9. Health and Education through Camping and Allied Activities.—Camping is recognised throughout the world as an activity of great educational value to every boy and girl, and the most important single item in the character building work undertaken by boy and girl leaders. It solves the problem of 'too much house' and takes the boys and

girls away from the city's noise and whirl and its social complications and abnormalities. The emancipation from parent devotion and domination is often essential for the attainment of the emotional, intellectual and social maturing and independence of the boys and girls. Such qualities as courage, resourcefulness, robustness, love of the beautiful in Nature, industry, sociability, and co-operative behaviour have ever been considered among the fine fruits of the summer camping experience. The camp is built on the principle that every one works. It is a training place in the art of co-operative living and self-help and is thoroughly democratic in its organisation. Strong physique, robust health, good blood, sound nerves, these are essential conditions for character and efficiency. And these combined with adaptability, sociable and co-operative behaviour and the spirit of sharing and serving undoubtedly go to make good citizenship. Educational tours, walking tours, picnics, excursions to places of interest should all be considered legitimate activities of our educational institutions. These can widen the outlook and deepen the culture of the people.

10. *Youth Organisations*.—The countries that have progressed amongst the comity of nations are those which have taken care of their young people. It is in the nature of the youths to get together; for, they thirst for society, companionship and activities. We find any number of youth organisations scattered all over the country, —ill-organised, semi-organised and facing the many problems of mere existence. These youth organisations should be knit together, given state-aid and guidance and the activities co-ordinated for national demonstrations and "get-togethers". Unless a National Youth Organisation affiliates all the existing recognised youth institutions and makes it possible for even the poorest to seek membership without any financial obligation, it will not be possible to care for all the young men and women in the

country. It should be a purely social venture and steer clear of all power and party politics, with the one and only aim of serving and building the young, physically fit, mentally alert, morally upright, socially amicable, emotionally stable, and spiritually balanced. The adequate care of the unemployed youth will be a special problem to be tackled. The 'Peace army' organised in England after the last great war for providing wholesome work to the unemployed, to save them from the drudgery and monotony and to teach them the dignity of labour by working on the roads, clearing the forests, etc., was a constructive experiment and could be profitably tried in India. This will benefit and improve the country as well as the youths. In England and in the continent we hear of Youth-Hostels scattered all over the country, catering to the various recreational interests of the youths and providing them with plenty of outdoor life and open air. These activities will help to unite the young people of the country in an indissoluble fellowship and understanding.

In conclusion, let it be emphasised that we have a rich reservoir of experience in our ancient past from which we can rightly draw our inspiration. In India we have an inter-play of various cultures as well as the valuable experiences of other countries. There is at the disposal of humanity the scientific knowledge of the world by which we can test every known method. We are well acquainted with the conditions that prevail at present in India, the social structure, the economic status and the various other factors. The potentialities of the play movement are immense. A comprehensive national programme of physical education and recreation will have to be born out of a desire to elevate the status of our motherland amidst the comity of nations. It is not an easy task but once we realise the magnitude of the problem and the necessity to solve it, no obstacle will prove insurmountable.

Accidents and their Prevention

KRISHNA CHANDRA MOOKERJEE

ACCORDING to the dictionary the word 'accident' means 'a mishap', 'an unexpected event proceeding from an unknown cause', 'a chance event', 'event without apparent cause', 'unexpected act,' 'unintentional act', etc. If we accept any of these connotations it would not only make an objective approach to the problem of accidents impossible but render us indifferent to preventive measures that may have to be adopted to ward them off. Such an attitude betrays a lack of elementary scientific training of the mind; what is still worse, it reveals lamentable ignorance of the etiology of accidents. No doubt, accidents cannot be often studied under strictly prescribed laboratory conditions; neither is it conceivable to bring the conditions of causation of each and every accident under control so much so that a particular accident can be repeated, as is possible in the case of some physical phenomena in the domain of Physics, Chemistry, and such other basic sciences. But that should not be considered as a sufficient evidence to prove that the problem of accident causation is beyond the purview of scientific investigation. The correct method of dealing with such phenomena would be to find out the limitations under which they are to be investigated and proceeded with. Unfortunately the subject did not receive adequate consideration till psychologists recently brought their heads together for a scientific study of this problem and suggested possible remedial measures. Soon after the beginning of the present century, some scientists, mostly psychologists, refused to be guided by the popular meaning of the word and started studying carefully the so-called unexpected event, accident, and tracing all relevant facts about its causation. After years of fruitful research these investigators discovered many pertinent facts

concerning what was heretofore considered as more or less a gift of chance and they thus paved the way for future workers in this field. The facts they discovered have since been recognised as the fundamental facts about accident causation. Once the diagnosis was correctly made it did not take the investigators long to suggest proper preventive and curative measures. The real difficulty lay in the task of successfully analysing the so-called elusive event, accident and once that was done prevention followed as a matter of course.

It may not be out of place to mention here that theoretically speaking even such an abstract factor as 'chance' has not been left out of scientific study and analysis on the ground that it is apparently unanalysable or uncontrollable or beyond the scope of laboratory experimentation. On the other hand, mathematics has adequately solved the problem by logically analysing the so-called chance and its effects on matter and mind. It has also formulated some well defined laws governing the apparently fortuitous behaviour of chance. We shall discuss in the course of this article the findings, including the recent ones, of the investigators in this field and examine the problem of accident prevention in the light of their discoveries and recommendations.

Problem Stated.—For a scientific study of the problem of accident causation it is important to keep in mind the two types of accidents usually met with in nature :

(1) The first type relates to street accidents, i.e., those caused by motor, tram, train, etc., and are taken to be the inevitable consequences of the march of civilization. Within this class are included by far the largest number of accidents occurring in any modern city or town and also cases arising out of a sudden fall, sudden collapse of a building, or, as happened recently in

Bombay, and still more recently in the port of Chicago in U.S.A., sudden severe explosion accompanied by monstrous fire. Such accidents receive little attention of people except some lip sympathy because, by circumstances and by accident, they are made helpless witnesses of such tragic happenings. In this connection it would be somewhat interesting to note the legal view of the problem. Almost everyday in the morning on opening the daily newspaper we find some inquest reports of the city coroner on the body of one or more accident victims. These reports, almost in all cases, are expressed in a traditional form, namely, that an inquest was held on the body of such and such a person and that the death was found to have been due to accidental causes. In such investigations, what receives more attention is the apparent cause of the death rather than the circumstances which brought it about; and therefore these people do not pursue the matter any further, little imagining that their analysis is not very sound. This unscientific attitude is somewhat responsible for allaying peoples' curiosity in the matter. Most people seem to believe that such reports are final and that no useful purpose would be served by further dragging the matter. The death, according to them, brings to a close the whole event. Speaking from one's sentiments there may be some sort of justification for such an attitude; but looking at the problem in its proper perspective such attitudes cannot be defended and they are highly detrimental to the progress of science. A scientist can never be satisfied with such meagre description of the cause and effect. A concrete illustration will bring home the point at issue. Supposing at one time some eight people crossed successfully the Hornby Road at the point opposite the V. T. station clock tower, while the ninth pedestrian met with an accident, though all of them crossed under the same objective circumstances, in the face of some external dangers. Why is it that only the ninth person met with accident while the

remaining eight, though threatened with presumably the same danger from outside, were able to cross and go to the other side? Or let us again consider the cases of accidents which are of late occurring in the suburban section of the B. B. & C. I. and G. I. P. railways in Bombay due to what has since been found to be overcrowding in the local trains. Those who have recently taken a trip in any of these suburban trains know how many people usually travel on the foot-boards clinging to the iron bars at the doorways to the absolute discomfort of other passengers. But contrary to our expectation not all the persons travelling in that way at a particular moment drop down; and not from all the doorways. Only one or two such persons out of the lot have been found to slip off and fall down, meeting with severe injuries which usually prove fatal.

Instances of this sort can be multiplied without in any way improving the prospect of finding a way out of such situations. How can we account for such strange happenings? The usual explanations offered in such cases take one of the following forms:—the unfortunate man, of the first example, was absent-minded; he was probably having a sensory defect and so could not see or hear the obvious danger signal; he was careless; he was slow in his strides and movements, etc. Some people who seem to be wiser refuse to offer any plausible explanation whatsoever since, according to them, the word itself is self-explanatory. If there can at all be any reasonable cause for it, why should the occurrence be called an accident? Yet there is another type of explanation which is even more ingenious than others of the kind and can only be regarded as a fertile product of imagination. This type of explanation virtually rings down the curtain over the incident by suggesting that the man was destined to meet with that accident, or that it was long before written on his forehead that on such and such a date and at a specified time the man in question would meet

with an accident of the sort he has actually suffered. The conjectures do not seem to stop there but take us a step further by suggesting that nothing could have been done by way of preventing what was more or less pre-ordained and therefore inevitable. According to the advocates of this view some superhuman power arranges such events for some of us occasionally and it would be almost sinful on our part to try to undo what is written there, meaning the forehead region. Such sterile explanations do not lead us anywhere; nor do the attitudes revealed therein suggest any fresh clue to a scientific explanation of accidents. While appreciating the originality of these explanations one cannot but be surprised to find the amount of fantastic element unnecessarily, and perhaps unknowingly too, introduced into the concept and for which there can be very little justification.

(2) The second type of accidents refers to those that occur in industries and industrial concerns and are denoted by the name 'Industrial Accidents'. In this group of accidents the external causes, besides being somewhat limited in number and unlike those discussed under (1) above, are more or less well-defined so far as their applicability in a particular situation is concerned. Industrial accidents may be generally said to result from three sources: firstly from lack of adequate safeguards about the machines (the nature of these safeguards has been discussed in detail under 'Preventive Measures' below); secondly from a large number of external factors, such as, bad ventilation, bad illumination, unusual atmospheric temperature, etc., over which the worker has practically no control; and thirdly from those factors that are to be found in the worker himself, i.e., the individual factors as a direct consequence to the existence of individual differences which have their origin in the constitution of the germ plasma of the human organism. The last source is the most important from psychological view point since here we find certain peculiarities

and characteristics of human beings, the existence of which in individual cases predisposes the organism to accidents or tends to make him 'accident prone'—a term generally used by industrial psychologists to describe such people. That some of the causes in an accident situation are inherent in the very nature of the tasks or instruments and tools handled by the workers needs no elaboration; that certain tasks, more than others, involve risk and danger to the individuals can also be readily conceded to; but what is really difficult to comprehend in the absence of the 'human factor hypothesis' is that even after a careful elimination of all possible external sources of danger that might theoretically follow, cases of accidents though not to the extent and rate obtaining before still occur. To an untrained eye the human factor or personal element involved in an accident may not be quite apparent but one cannot go a long way in the study of accident causation and ignore these. Merely pointing out that a particular work involved risk and danger, or that certain working conditions induce accidents or increase the incidence rate is to say the least about them.

Psychologists came into the field when the whole atmosphere relating to accident causation was practically saturated with such beliefs and superstitions. They had, therefore, to break considerable new ground before they could treat the problem scientifically. Carelessness which has much to recommend it as a plausible explanation, and which even now is held in certain quarters as one of the main causes of accidents, was found to be no better than a smoke screen interfering with the progress of the scientific study of the problem. The psychologists next examined the claim of 'chance hypothesis' to explain the accident cases, but concluded that it cannot be regarded either adequate or appropriate; since the distribution curves of accident rates do not possess all the important characteristics of the well known 'Gaussian

Curve'. Leaving aside its mathematical connotation of possibility or probability, the word 'chance' stands for some given unknown or unanalysed forces. Even in so called typical chance experiments, e.g., throwing of the dice or coins, it has been shown that the faces or sides lying upward in a particular throw are the result of the various complex forces acting upon them. However, from the mass of materials available in the form of popular explanations which have been offered from time to time in this field to cover up new cases of accidents occurring frequently as a sequel to the changed transport and other conditions, as well as from the results of their further enquiry into the phenomenon, these investigators discerned that there is a personal element in all these occurrences, and the amount of that element varied from individual to individual and also in the same individual for the different periods of time and life. They further contended that the objective situation also not infrequently determines the amount and quality of this personal element to be called into play in a particular setting. This is a significant discovery leading up as it did to a further study and understanding of the problem in different settings. Little did the people who naively offered some make-believe explanations of accident causation know that some day these very explanations would be construed to mean such things as human factor, personal element, etc. There is no hesitation in admitting that the germ of future scientific solution of the problem lay in those explanations; for it has now been conclusively proved that a human element—however apparently insignificant—can almost always be traced in practically all cases of accidents and the two illustrations cited in (1) above are no doubt cases in point.

Industrial Accidents.—The so-called objective causes and prevention (if possible) of industrial accidents formed a subject of considerable interest and attention even in earlier days, but the scientific study of the

problem in its many settings was begun only in the beginning of the present century. The problem at first was tackled, though not to one's absolute satisfaction, by those who were closely connected with industrial organisations and national welfare of a country. The search for appropriate measures to prevent accidents was begun when responsible persons realised that industries in general have a direct bearing and influence on the economic condition of the worker and his family. But their efforts, without bringing about the much needed orientation in the general outlook, were confined in most cases to the finding of some rough and ready, easy and cheap method for the prevention of accidents. Cases are not infrequent where the accident met by a particular man has resulted in the ultimate economic ruin of his whole family by bringing untimely death and destitution to his dependants. There are instances of a more pathetic nature; and it may be said without any hesitation that the ultimate responsibility for such upsetting of the economic and social structures automatically falls on the employers who do not perhaps adequately realize the consequences of their indifference in the matter. Hence it is but natural that such people would be genuinely interested in the successful solution of the problem. Happily for the workers the entire outlook has in recent years been considerably changed and the pendulum of popular opinion has swung too far in their favour. Industrialists and employers of industrial concerns need no longer be told that nothing but good will come out of a movement for the control and prevention of accidents. But the seriousness of the problem, which in almost all countries has been sought to be solved, if not wholly at least partially, by counteracting the evil effects of accidents with compensatory laws, is not always correctly appraised. These compensatory laws, a brief description of which will be given later have been enacted and enforced by the State or the Government of the land as a part of

their duty in the matter.

Apart from the fact that an almost criminal loss of human life and material results from such accidents which cannot be compensated even with the best of laws enacted for the purpose, the loss sustained by the members of the victim's family as well as the loss to the industry and State amounts, in terms of money, to a colossal sum. An approximate idea of this loss may be had from the following roughly estimated figures available:—the number of accidents reported to the Home Office in Great Britain, in 1929, was 161,269—the corresponding figure for the previous year being 154,319 (Annual Report of the Chief Inspector of Factories and Workshops for the year 1929—H. M. Stationery Office). According to a report of the National Safety Council (Accident Facts, National Safety Council, Chicago, 1931, p. 5), approximately 99,000 people were killed by accidents in the United States during 1930. This number represented a death rate from accidents alone of 80·4 per 100,000 population. In 1929, it was revealed that in the United States the accident rate was second in rank in a list of leading causes of death among men, and eighth in rank in a similar list prepared for women. Thus in these cases accidents got a prominent place in Vital Statistics by considerably increasing the corresponding mortality ratio. One common feature in these figures is that the incidence rate is much higher among men than women, which is as it should be, since in usual peace time the number of men employed in different industries is considerably higher than the percentage of women. Such difference in the incidence rate of accidents among the two sexes prevails in almost every country.

The figures cited above are all in terms of human lives but to further estimate them in existing exchange values, to arrive at a reasonable cost debitable to the exchequer, is a difficult task; and the calculations of such costs are further complicated by the

existence of various costs other than the direct ones, such as payment for adequate medical treatment and insurance, expense of selecting and training new men to take the place of those who have suffered accidents, cost of maintaining safety and welfare departments which function with the object of preventing accidents and caring for the injured employees and their families. Coupled with these, of course, is a possible lowering of the output which adds further to the cost of production. However the total of all such costs and charges, computed roughly as they are, has been found, as reported by Heinrich, to be well over \$5,000,000,000 in the United States for one calendar year. Corresponding costs for other countries when computed on the above basis would no doubt reveal similar staggering figures.

Huge as these figures are, it must be remembered that they refer only to accidents of sufficient gravity to make them reportable to the proper quarter according to the terms of the existing laws in this field. In the absence of such laws it is doubtful if the subject would ever have received any serious attention whatsoever. Even then cases are traceable where the employer has successfully evaded the vigilance of the relevant laws by his tact and cleverness, thereby earning the appreciation of the management who would otherwise have had to pay some compensation. Apart from such cases the factory administration reports do not take account of a type of accidents, the number of which is in all probability still larger, but which are not sufficiently severe in nature from the legal point of view but which nevertheless cause untold suffering to the worker concerned and his family, as also much waste of work-time for the management. One investigator in this field reports that the non-notifiable accidents, meaning thereby those that are of a less severe nature, are as much as 30 per cent more than the notifiable ones. According to this same authority, to arrive at a reasonably depend-

able estimate of the total number of accidents caused in a particular industry, it is necessary to multiply the reported figure by anything between 10 and 50, the actual figure in a particular case being dependant upon the nature of the trade in question, since the ratio between notifiable and non-notifiable accidents has always been found to vary in different trades and occupations. It may thus be concluded that the number of minor accidents in any industry is also enormous and that such accidents, almost in all cases, entail severe suffering and cause temporary decline in the output and efficiency of the worker.

In India it is somewhat surprising to note that regular statistics about the incidence rate of accidents in different industries in various localities were not available until recently. Even the bitterest critics would doubtless agree that statistics, when timely computed and published—whatever may be the intrinsic value of the figure it sums up—facilitates enormously further discussion on a subject, and leads to the formulation of ideas and policies and measures that might be necessary to counter-effect certain tendencies manifest in the tabulated data. But the authorities here have so far failed in their duties in this matter. The Annual Report of the working of the Indian Factories Act in India during the year 1942, has been available to the public toward the second half of the current year, 1944, i.e., after more than one year and a half, which is rather amazing. Whatever might be the cause for this inordinate delay, one cannot fail to observe that such publications defeat the very purpose for which they are meant and tend to bring down the importance of these reports to a ridiculously low level. Dereliction of duties like this cannot be defended during any period of time much less in war time when a vast labour force has been employed to cope with the ever increasing demands on the different industries of the country. So far as the forms of these reports are concerned it may be pointed

out that the figures sampled therein should be computed on an all-India basis and for different industries so as to facilitate the task of comparison of the results. The reliability of such figures, however, as a sort of dependable index for calculating the total number of accidents, shall be more or less limited, as will appear from a perusal of what has been said in an earlier section. The following are the chief findings of the report so far as it relates to industrial accidents:—

“Increased employment of workers, longer working hours, and employment of semitrained and sometimes untrained personnel, are some of the factors responsible for an increase in the total number of accidents in factories in British India from 48,736 in 1941 to 54,174 in 1942. The fatal and serious accidents increased respectively from 271 to 323 and from 8,374 to 9,111, and the average per 100,000 operatives was 2,374 as against 2,260 during the previous year”.

Methods of Prevention.—The suggestion about appropriate measure or measures, that can be adopted with advantage for the prevention of accidents of a particular type naturally pre-supposes a successful analysis of the internal and external situations which give rise to accidents; and it is this part of the task which earlier investigators could not solve. The position here is analogous to that of the general practitioners in medicine. A physician, for instance, is required to prescribe remedies for his patients' ailments for which he has quite a large number of measures at his disposal. In any particular case he may prescribe one or more of these measures according to the need. But a suitable prescription is always preceded by a correct diagnosis. This diagnosis forms an integral part of the treatment which he may subsequently adopt and almost always involves a very careful consideration of the nature of the disease or ailment and the possible cause thereof. After he has successfully determined these

two things he would apply his mind and energies to finding out a suitable and most effective remedy for the purpose. Thus the success of a physician in his treatment is very much conditioned by the reliability and validity of his diagnosis. Similarly in the case of accident prevention, it is the cause of the accident that has to be properly and carefully analysed before arriving at any specific remedy. Only when a clear and objective picture of the occurrence has been obtained can effective recommendations to prevent a recurrence of such conditions be made.

So far there are two different approaches to the problem of finding out suitable remedial measures. One of these concerns itself with the study of accidents with reference to external factors influencing persons in general, irrespective of their personal qualities and traits; and the remedial measures according to it imply, in some cases at least, voluntary or conscious control of such extraneous factors and conditions by the individuals themselves. The practical application of the foregoing principle has taken the form of enforcement of certain regulations or adoption of some safety devices, or both, the precise nature of these having to be determined carefully according to the needs of the situation. In the second approach accidents are studied to find out how far they are affected by factors affecting the same group of individuals differently though these individuals are presumably subjected to the same physical environment at the time of the accident. The remedies according to this view are based on the principle that they lie virtually outside the domain of activities usually regarded as consciously or voluntarily controllable by human organisms. This line of approach has resulted in more success as it has finally led to the formulation of the now-famous 'Human Factor Hypothesis' in the explanation of accident causation. The techniques and measures that are followed according to it, have been carefully evolved and scientific-

cally proved by the psychologists during the second quarter of the present century. The first approach failed to discover this important human factor in the accident causation and as a result, the remedies suggested by it have more or less proved to be of limited value and application as will be evident from the following section.

In accordance with the first method of tackling with the problem the remedies are embodied in the factory regulations. Almost every civilized State has laid down certain statutory requirements with regard to its industries for the purpose of protecting the lives of its workers. These requirements have since been called Factory Acts and Regulations and generally include among others, The Workmen's Compensation Act and Rules, The Industrial Disputes Acts and Rules, The Payment of Wages Act and Rules, The Maternity Benefit Act and Rules, etc. Though these regulations individually fall much short of the actual needs in the matter, they have on the whole really reduced the number of Industrial accidents by compelling the employers, amongst other things, to conform to some set standards for the working of the different plants and machineries so as to ensure adequate safety to the lives of the workers. Little doubt is entertained now-a-days about the efficacy of such rules and regulations; and if the measures are strictly enforced they would be able to reduce the workers' liability to accidents in general to the level of an absolute minimum. The provisions under these laws and regulations have been found to differ somewhat in different countries; but this can be explained as due to the conditions of work and industry being not identical in all places. Furthermore these laws enacted, as they must be, during a certain period of a country's industrial development may not be considered adequate or even appropriate at a later stage because of the widely changed industrial atmosphere that might be prevailing afterwards. Hence arises the necessity of periodically re-

examining the existing acts and relevant laws in this field to test their applicability or otherwise in order to keep the industrial conditions of the country in a perpetually progressing state. The importance of such periodic scrutiny and re-enactment of the factory acts of a country cannot be over-emphasized since on such changes and modifications as might be worked out depend, to a large extent, the incidence of accidents in any industry. Whatever may be the

nature of benefit derived from these Acts one finds in them the earliest attempts, however crude or inadequate, to prevent the happening of accidents. Hence these laws, though such attempts originated from humanitarian rather than truly scientific considerations, may well be regarded as 'preventive measures' against accident causation recommended in earlier days.

(To be continued)

Play-Centres—Their Organisation and Management

B. H. MEHTA

THE ideal of the Play-Centre is to provide healthy, interesting and organised pastime to children, boys and girls with a view to develop character, and to prepare the young to become energetic, useful, healthy and social members of the community.

The Greek ideal of the Body Beautiful is now more fully amplified as the Play-ground seeks to create the Body Beautiful, Healthy and Efficient. The external perfection of the human body should be accompanied by the full health of the human organism (including the health of each separate organ, limb, muscle, bone, blood tissue and cell) so that it is capable of performing the normal functions and duties of life thoroughly, speedily and efficiently.

The aims of the Play-Centre are :— (1) To provide indoor and outdoor games and other recreational activities to suit various age groups of both the sexes. (2) To maintain good health and improve the physique of the younger generation. (3) To develop character and provide opportunity of leadership to the young. (4) To provide a healthy social life to the members of the Playground. (5) To encourage outdoor life and love for Nature amongst all youths.

The Organisation of the Play-Centre.—The Play-centre should organise children residing in well-defined localities into play-groups managed by themselves, and

organised, directed and supervised by persons who are friends of the young.

The entire Play-Centre should be treated as one Unit. The Play-Centre is divided into the following Sections under a Section Leader who can also be a Group Leader :— (1) The Children's Section having both boys and girls. (5 to 9 years). (2) The Junior Girls' Section. (10 to 14 years). (3) The Junior Boys' Section. (10 to 14 years). (4) The Senior Girls' Section. (15 to 18 years). (5) The Senior Boys' Section. (15 to 18 years). (6) The Young Men's Section. (19 to 25 years). (7) The Young Women's Section. (19 to 25 years).

Each Section is further divided into Groups, according to heights of members, under a Group Leader. A group will have between 12 and 20 members.

Leadership at the Play-Centre.—The Superintendent of the Welfare Centre should be in general charge of the organisation and administration of the Play-Centre.

Direction.—The Physical Director should be in charge of the direction of the Centre, assisted by Instructors.

Supervision and Management.—The Efficiency Officer, the Supervisor, the Quartermaster and the Health Supervisor are responsible for the management and supervision of the Centre.

Sections and Groups should be managed by Section and Group Leaders.

The Superintendent.—The Superintendent is responsible for the organisation, management and proper functioning of the Play-Centre and the proper care of the Playgrounds. He is also responsible for the allotment of groups to members. In case a Superintendent is not appointed, an Efficiency Officer should function as the Superintendent, over and above discharging his duties as Efficiency Officer. The Superintendent will see that the policy, methods, and programme for the Centre are properly and efficiently executed. He is responsible for the proper maintenance of all records. The Superintendent should remain present on all Centre working days.

In any place where the Superintendent of Welfare Work has many duties to perform, he may appoint a Play-Centre Organizer to assist him in his work.

The Physical Director.—The Physical Director is responsible for planning the organisation and determining the policy, methods and programme of the Play-Centre. He is responsible for the appointment of leaders (unless each group elects its own leader, or each member of a group becomes a leader by turn) and allotment of duties to them. He can take any action necessary for the discipline and good management of the Play-Centre.

Instructors.—(1) Instructors are responsible for the efficient organisation and management of Play Sections and Groups. They should (2) frame detailed programmes and allot games to Groups every month; (3) train Section and Group Leaders; (4) maintain discipline in the Groups.

Instructors will see that composition of groups are not altered; members do not shift from one group to another; groups play on the places allotted to them; attendance is regular and punctual and the level of efficiency is high.

The Efficiency Officer.—The Efficiency Officer is the chief supervising authority, supervising the work of Instructors, Supervisors, Health Supervisors, Section Leaders

and Group Leaders. He will supervise the Play-Centre organisation, the games played by groups, and the nourishment given to children. He will inspect all records to see that they are properly maintained. In the discharge of duties, he will not interfere with the legitimate functions of any other leader.

The Health Supervisor.—The Health Supervisor is responsible for attending to the Medical Inspection of children; the maintenance of Physical Measurement Records; and for controlling the Nourishment Section of the Play-Centre. He is responsible for the good quality of nourishment and the maintenance of cleanliness and sanitation on the Playground.

The Attendance Officer.—The Attendance Officer is responsible for maintaining the regular attendance of children at the Play-Centre. On information about the irregular attendance of members by the Superintendent, the Attendance Officer will visit them and their parents to inquire about the cause of irregularity, and report the result to the Superintendent.

The Physical Welfare Committee or the Playground Committee.—When Playgrounds and Welfare Centres have carried out their routine programmes under their officers for a sufficiently long period—of about two to three years—it is advantageous to have a Committee with the Physical Director or the Welfare Superintendent as the Chairman and with the Efficiency Officer, the Quartermaster, Instructors, the Health Supervisor, the Section Leaders and three or more representatives of Group Leaders as members. The Committee will elect its own Secretary and Treasurer.

In the beginning the Committee may be entrusted the task of programme making, management of grounds and equipment, allotment of duties, preparation of budget estimates, maintenance of records, appointment of leaders, etc. Gradually and with experience the committee may consider the more general problems of policy, methods,

membership, appointment of officers, and finance; and may make its own Bye-Laws.

Membership.—Play-Centres and play-grounds can hardly attain their ideals if they are not democratic. Regional Play-Centres and public play-grounds ought to have an open membership without charging fees to those who are not able to afford them. It is equally undesirable that those who can afford to pay for their recreations or the physical welfare of their children should receive such facilities and amenities free of cost.

As playgrounds provide the best opportunities for developing social harmony and inter-centre, inter-group and inter-communal amity, it is desirable to follow a general policy of inviting guests and neighbours and organising inter-group programmes.

The Playground.—Properly levelled play-grounds, free from stones and other things causing injury can only be provided after the monsoon. Therefore, the work should be undertaken in September. Where such facilities are not provided, the boys have to play on streets which have a hard surface. Care should be taken to see that vehicular traffic is not disturbed in such cases. It is essential that groups should keep their own play-grounds clean, and the Efficiency Officer should see that this is done by all players. All playfields and courts should be kept clean, watered if necessary, and properly lined.

Equipment.—All equipment should be in charge of the Quartermaster. All articles of equipment bear dates, and should be numbered wherever possible. The Quartermaster must stock all equipment at each Centre in a Store, and only one person should be assigned to distribute and replace articles on each play-turn.

Where there are fully developed Play-Centres with innumerable activities, all major activities should be in charge of Secretaries who may be provided with lockers to keep their own equipment given to them by the Quartermaster.

When articles are no longer usable, the

Quartermaster must return them (in whatever condition) to the Superintendent. No new article should be given to any group unless the old article is properly accounted for.

Any Group Leader can order any article he thinks necessary for his group on the Order Form A. This will be submitted to the Director for approval and instructions for purchase. Articles must be purchased by the Quartermaster from the place specified on the Form within the allotted period. Cash for equipment must be taken by the Quartermaster according to instructions given on the Form. A voucher must be submitted for every item of purchase separately. Groups should be requested to use all articles with proper care and make them last as long as possible. If there is a limited budget, better the care of articles, the more can be the purchases made and greater will be the opportunity for the groups to use them.

Play-Centre Records.—These may be classified as (1) Purchase Form A. (2) Admission Form B. (3) Roll Call C. (4) Medical inspection Form D. (5) Physical Measurement Report E. (6) Monthly Report F.

Admissions.—Admission to Groups should be made by the Supervisor with the approval of the Efficiency Officer. Players must be assigned to groups according to heights, and not the age of the child. A lower group may be assigned if a recruit is not smart or efficient enough. Highly defective or backward children should not be admitted to the Play-Centre.

Removals.—Names of children who do not attend the Centre for a period of two months should be removed from the Roll Call by the Superintendent.

Roll Calls.—The Superintendent should be in charge of the regular and proper maintenance of all Roll Calls. A Leader's Roll Call will be kept at each Centre with names of all Leaders, marking the time of arrival of each leader.

Monthly Reports.—These should be submitted by the Superintendent separately for each Centre not later than the 15th day of

the month following.

Medical Inspection.—The Health Supervisor will obtain School Medical Reports from all children whenever possible, and where these are not available, children will be examined by the Medical Officer of the Play-Centre. Health Supervisors should report to the Director any case which is recommended for treatment by the doctor. The Supervisor will fill in the necessary preliminary information on the Form D before sending it to the doctor.

Nourishment.—Milk should be ordered for all the Centres, and the change in quantity should be determined by the Director. Articles for nourishment for each Centre will be determined by the Health Supervisor. The distribution of nourishment must be properly organised at each Centre under one person who will be assisted by others. Groups must sit together, as far as possible in a circle, to take the food. The Efficiency Officer must see that milk is good and the articles of nourishment are fresh. He must also see that utensils are kept properly clean. Other Institutions permitting the Play-Centre the use of their rooms should find no occasion to complain about disorder or uncleanness.

Obedience to Orders.—Leaders act within the limitations of duties assigned to them. Whilst they hold graded positions because of the functions they have to perform, they are all equal friends working for a cause. For the purpose of discipline the following grade of leadership should be observed: The Superintendent, The Physical Director, The Efficiency Officer, The Quartermaster, The Instructor, The Health Supervisor, The Section Leader, The Group Leader.

Group Leaders will carry out the Instructions of the Efficiency Officer, the Instructor and the Supervisor. The Group Leader alone should give orders to members of his group. No instruction should be given, as far as possible to a member of the play-centre above the head of the Group Leader by any Officer.

Play-Centre Days.—Each Centre should

meet twice a week, the idea being to let the members get into the habit of playing daily. Therefore daily playing without supervision should be encouraged, and equipment should be provided whenever it is possible to do so.

The Physical Welfare Programme.—The programme includes: (1) Individual games. (2) Group games. (3) Major Indian and Western team games. (4) Outdoor life. (5) Athletics.

Games, contained in books mentioned in the bibliography are suggested for individual and group play. However, in all centres, members and especially juniors should be encouraged to play games already known to them. The Physical Director with the help of instructors will only introduce into these games elements of leadership, discipline and organisation, and remove undesirable factors like vulgar language, excessive use of physical force, etc. The Play-Centre programme may also include popular boy interests like kite-flying, marbles, top-spinning, etc.

The Play-Centre is a basic activity for all children and youth. Once the members are accustomed to discipline and organised play, they should be encouraged to participate in secondary group activities according to their personal likes and interests.

Organised group play should lead to participation in major games, team games, and Indian games which are accepted on the approved list. The games suggested are as follows:

- | | |
|-------------------|------------------|
| (1) Volley Ball. | (2) Basket Ball. |
| (3) Captain Ball. | (4) Dodge Ball. |
| (5) Cricket. | (6) Hockey. |
| (7) Foot Ball. | (8) Tenniquoit. |
| (9) Badminton. | (10) Skittles. |
| (11) Croquet. | (12) Hu-tu-tu. |
| (13) Ata-pata. | (14) Kho-kho. |
| (15) Langdi. | (16) Kiti-kiti. |

It is desirable that each of the above games should have its own permanent Secretary to look after the maintenance and supply of equipment and to organise programmes including inter-group, inter-centre,

and inter-club activities; but the practice of having permanent captains should be discouraged.

The correct method of play should always be encouraged, but a general level of efficiency should be preferred to ultra-high standards which may degenerate into professionalism or the organisation of Star teams.

Under no circumstances should sportsmanship and healthy competition be permitted to degenerate into unhealthy rivalry.

Members should always be disciplined to enjoy play and can serve their groups at the same time. The cleanliness of playgrounds, including ground preparation, rolling and watering, marking, etc., should always be done by the players themselves in a spirit of comradeship and service.

Athletics.—Athletics deserves to be encouraged from the very early age of six to seven years. Olympic Events should be adjusted to age and sex groups and the physical activity games. Young persons should be taught the history of the Olympic Events, and whenever possible, the 16 mm. cinema film on the 1936 Olympics should be shown to them. Children should be encouraged to play the game of "Olympics" which has been put on the market by the Artytoys in order to familiarise them with the Olympic ideals, ideas and events.

At least three Events should be aimed at annually including Inter-Centre Sports, Youths Sports and Children's Sports. These sports should always be preceded by a four months practice under leadership and supervision.

It is very essential that each child and youth is medically examined before being permitted to participate in exacting athletics. Special health care is required for long distance runners, cyclists, and swimmers.

Outdoor Life.—Outdoor life for youth is essential for the training of leadership and for building up character. Outdoor surroundings, outside the city, are ideal for the

improvement of health and for creating stamina and endurance. Life in the open, in an atmosphere of freedom, inspires personal initiative and self-help and gives training in resourcefulness. The programme of outdoor life will include camping, tramp-ing, hiking, cycling and swimming.

Recreation Centre Leadership.—The Recreation Leader is a companion in play and games for his brothers and sisters of almost the same age. He becomes a Group Leader because he desires to help others and he is endowed with a sense of leadership, fellowship, discipline and organisation. In acting as a Leader he is able to find pleasure and recreation for himself as well as for the other members of his group. In playing specially selected, organised, and planned games, he contributes a good deal towards the physical development of young persons, and he engages them in activities which are interesting and pleasurable to them.

The first effort of the Recreation Leader must be to create a permanent games-group. New admissions and resignations should be prevented to interfere with the efficiency and management of the group. Group Leaders should not admit new recruits except at the first Centre meeting of each month, and the admission must be made by the Superintendent of Social Work. The recruit must be admitted after due consideration is given to age, sex and height. No group should have more than 30 members on the roll.

It will add to the efficiency of the Group if Group Leaders attend the Centre punctually; and they should previously inform the Physical Instructors about their intention to remain absent at a subsequent turn.

Whenever a special training class for Group Leaders and Physical Instructors is conducted the other members of the Play-Centre will go for an outing under leaders who will be specially appointed for the purpose.

Group Leaders should pay special

attention to the games they play, as these games must contribute directly to the personal and social development of each member. Games should be selected to serve one or more of the following ends:—1. They should be interesting and provide amusement. 2. They should provide plenty of physical activity. Leg movements are provided by running, jumping, kicking, etc. Hand movements are provided by throwing, lifting, holding, etc. Trunk and head movements should also be present in most of the active games. 3. Games for small children under ten years should contribute towards sense development, especially of the eye, ear and touch. 4. Skill of the fingers should be encouraged by pleasant Nursery Education Activities. 5. Games must encourage the exercise of judgment. 6. Special games for memory training and observation may be included for older children. 7. Games must teach organisation, discipline and self control. 8. Life-imitation activities are greatly appreciated by small children and educate them in activities of adult life. 9. Games should provide competition as well as development of the team spirit and group work. 10. Opportunity for leadership should be given to every member of the Group.

It should be emphasised that Group Leaders should plan their games for each turn in advance. The Superintendent of Social Work and the Instructors should search for new and interesting games. Games played by children without assistance and leadership, and games played by children of schools and other communities ought to help in increasing the national gamelore and making the lives of children interesting and happy.

Games must be selected each turn to serve different purposes. For example there must be games for amusement and physical activity every turn. Games for special development may be introduced now and again. Major games should be constantly repeated whilst special games should be

changed as often as possible. In order to keep up the interest of children, games should not be repeated too often; they should however be repeated enough times to create efficiency and proficiency in the game.

Whilst playing games it is necessary to pay attention to the following:—1. Instruction for a game must be given in clear, simple and exact language. It is better to demonstrate a game, before the whole group plays it. 2. Group Leaders should themselves participate in all games. It is desirable that they wear shirts and shorts and a light shoe. 3. Ordering should be avoided as much as possible, and directions should be firmly, but gently given. 4. Drilling should be avoided in games, but group members should know formations like single-line, double-line, circle, half-circle, horse-shoe, etc. Formations should take place without any waste of time. Resting and group movements on the Play-ground should always take place in formations. 5. Group Leaders should insist upon the knowledge and observance of correct Rules of each game. They should themselves be very familiar with these Rules. 6. Sportsmanship should mean humility in victory, cheerfulness in defeat, a willingness to obey the leader, endurance and courage on the playground, use of good language, and the maintenance of friendly spirit with all. 7. Discipline will always be there with a good, intelligent Group Leader who will keep his children busy with interesting games. Indiscipline should be firmly but gently discouraged, and cases of bad discipline like disobedience to the Leader, use of bad language, unsportsmanlike conduct, causing wanton injury to others, should be promptly reported to the Instructors or the Superintendent.

The Meaning of Discipline.—No good boy or girl is *against* discipline. Bad discipline is the result of bad associates, improper education, and an undisciplined home or social environment.

Let us see *what discipline is not*. Disci-

pline does not mean the use of force or coercion, the infliction of physical punishment, the use of bad language on the part of the person imposing discipline, a harsh voice, or anything that will cause fear, repression, and injury to the child's personality.

Physical punishment of a child becomes necessary in its own interest in certain extraordinary cases, but its use is strictly prohibited to the Group Leader under all circumstances.

True discipline is helpful and pleasant. It is useful in order to preserve an atmosphere of cheerfulness and order, and maintain happy relations between all members of the Play-Centre. Good discipline invokes the goodwill and respect of others.

Boys and girls should be well disciplined not so much because others like it or want it, but because they themselves want good discipline. All discipline means some kind of self-control, both in self-interest, and in the interest of others. But that does not mean that discipline should come in way of the child enjoying its games, of doing what it is most interested in doing, or what it is most anxious to do in order that it may be happy.

Types of Discipline.—Different kinds of discipline are necessary at different places, and under different circumstances. For example, there is discipline at home, at school, at a marriage feast, in a cinema, in a temple etc. We are mainly concerned with discipline at the Play-Centre.

Discipline of Time.—Great inconvenience is caused when you come in the way of the enjoyment of others by not being punctual. The Play-Centre is not above the principle—"Everything at its proper time."

Discipline of Place.—It is necessary that at the Play-Centre, all members and Groups remain within the boundaries of the playground, and leave them only with the permission of the Superintendent or the Instructors. When a group is playing, the sphere of movement of a member is res-

tricted to the space necessary for the particular game selected by the Leader, and no disturbance should be caused to other Groups.

Discipline of the Body.—The human body is not always free to do what it likes. On a playground, all physical activities should be, as far as possible, a part of the game. Your hands or legs cannot do or move about as they like. They cannot especially cause injury to others. Use of good, cheerful words are a part of the discipline of a Play-Centre. The habit of using bad language must be gently cured by example, and by keeping the members busy in active games.

Discipline of the Emotions.—Emotions are always excited during games. Such an excitement is healthy and necessary, but the excited emotions should find expression in joy and violent physical activity. It is not bad discipline to turn a somersault in celebration of victory. Shouting, clapping and jumping are parts of play life. But what is wrong is loss of temper, anger, fierceness, and jealousy of some one who happens to be in some way better than you. Good playmates never quarrel. They are always too busy playing.

Social Discipline.—The Play-Centre is after all a small Community. Members of different types, tempers, and habits come together to play and to be happy. Social discipline means that no one will come in the way of the play, happiness or the enjoyment of others. That will be very selfish. When you are playing, you are surrounded by houses full of people. When they see you play, they should feel proud and happy, proud of your play which is clean, good and manly; and happy that these children are where they ought to be, and where they will become better men and women when it will be their turn to see their children play.

Play the Game.—The best advantage of playing the game is to play it. After all, in all games, someone will lose and someone will win; in some game someone may be hurt, someone may be wrong, or someone

will make mistakes. Disciplined enjoyment never wants itself to be spoilt by pettiness and short tempers.

Always play with a broad smile and a happy face on broad shoulders.

Some Hints on Discipline.—1. A good-leader will not point out mistakes of members in the presence of others. 2. When a person makes the same mistake many times, do not correct him many times. 3. Scolding is no correction; it is good to make a person *know* what the mistake is, and *how* to correct it. 4. For the first mistake a gentle word, the second mistake—overlook it, the third mistake—correct it with explanation, the fourth mistake—a reminder with encouragement, a fifth mistake—a happy punishment like touch-the-wall and back, run fifty yards, or play “Prick the donkey” with the offender as donkey.

What the leader needs is patience, what the culprit wants is effort.

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Tata Institute News

OFFICIAL Visit of our Director to U. S. A.—Realizing the imperative need for scientifically trained personnel to deal with the many social problems that faced the country, the Trustees of the Sir Dorabji Tata Trust gave their approval in 1936 to a scheme for the inauguration of a School of Social Work in India. Almost a decade after, there was a further realization that India can no longer wait to uphold her position amongst the civilised nations of the world without large scale plans to create a new India to take her rightful place in the post-war world. The present war has so furthered the already awakened national consciousness, that behind the plans now conceived there is a genuine and intense feeling to do the utmost that can be done to uproot poverty, raise the standard of life, attain a higher general standard of health, intelligence and

ability so that the major economic plans can achieve their objectives.

As part of these post-war efforts, the Trustees of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences are keen upon playing an important role realizing the place the Institute has achieved in the life of the country as the only Institute of its kind devoted to the promotion of the ideals and aims of scientific social welfare administration. Accordingly Dr. J. M. Kumarappa, the Director of the Institute, placed before the Trustees a concrete scheme which aimed at achieving higher standards of efficiency in fields which the Institute had already entered, and to extend the existing activities of the Institute in order to cater to the new demands that are now being made for better and more social services in the future. Dr. Kumarappa suggested that before detailed plans could be prepared, it was desirable to study

the experiences of public and private social work organizations in a progressive country like the United States and also study the extent to which the State was gradually shouldering responsibilities which have hitherto been borne by other agencies. Besides, new plans of training for scientific social work required leadership, knowledge of new techniques, a detailed study of modern research and most up-to-date programmes. The proposals put forth by Dr. Kumarappa were approved by the Trustees and it was decided that he should personally visit the U. S. A. as early as possible to do all that was necessary to further the cause of social work in India.

The co-operation of the American Consulate in Bombay was naturally invited for overcoming the war-time difficulties of priority of passage. It was quite a surprise to the Tata Institute of Social Sciences when a reply to the request made by Dr. Kumarappa was received in the shape of an invitation issued by the State Department of the U. S. A. through the office of the Personal Representative of the President of the United States in India. In view of the importance of the programme and to give all the necessary facilities to carry out his plans, this official invitation was extended to him. This gesture forms a part of the new American plan to foster cultural relations between India and America.

Besides this unique opportunity of visiting the United States on behalf of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Dr. Kumarappa has the distinction of being the first Indian to be invited to the country as the guest of the State Government as a cultural representative of India.

Dr. Kumarappa is not visiting America for the first time. This is his third visit. On the first occasion he visited the United States in 1908 and stayed there for a period of seven years. During this period he obtained his education at Boston and Har-

vard Universities taking his M.A. and S.T.B. Degrees. Returning to India, he was for some time on the Faculty of the Lucknow University. His second visit was in 1924 when he stayed for four years to take his M.A. and Ph.D. Degrees at the Columbia University. After returning from America he was Professor of Philosophy and Sociology at the University of Mysore. Dr. Kumarappa was invited to come to Bombay in 1935 to help Dr. Manshardt in organising the Institute and has been Professor of Social Economics at the Tata Institute of Social Sciences since 1936 when it was brought into being.

Dr. Kumarappa will fly to the U. S. A. from the Karachi Airport in the first week of December. Whilst the Institute wishes him *bon voyage*, it also wishes that the many plans that Dr. Kumarappa has made in the cause of the advancement of social services in general and social work in particular in India may bear rich fruit and that he may return to this country, richer in his experiences, and stronger in his will to serve the important cause he represents.

B. M.

Dr. Mehta to Act as Director.—We are happy to announce that the Trustees have appointed Dr. B. H. Mehta to officiate as Director of the Institute during the absence of Dr. J. M. Kumarappa. Dr. Mehta has been on the Faculty of the Institute ever since its inception and holds the chair for Social Service Administration. He is also a senior member of the Editorial Board of our Journal. After passing his M.A., Dr. Mehta joined the Faculty of the Tata Institute and took his Doctorate in Sociology in 1937 from the Bombay University. To his colleagues, students and admirers, Dr. Mehta is distinguished for his practical thinking and multifarious organizational activities. We heartily welcome Dr. Mehta and felicitate him for the honour that has been deservedly bestowed upon him.

M. V. M.

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